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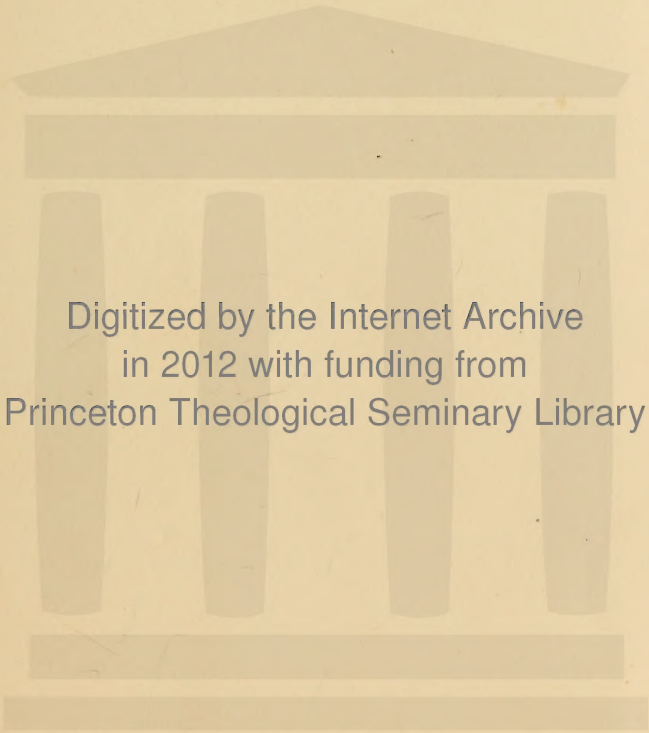
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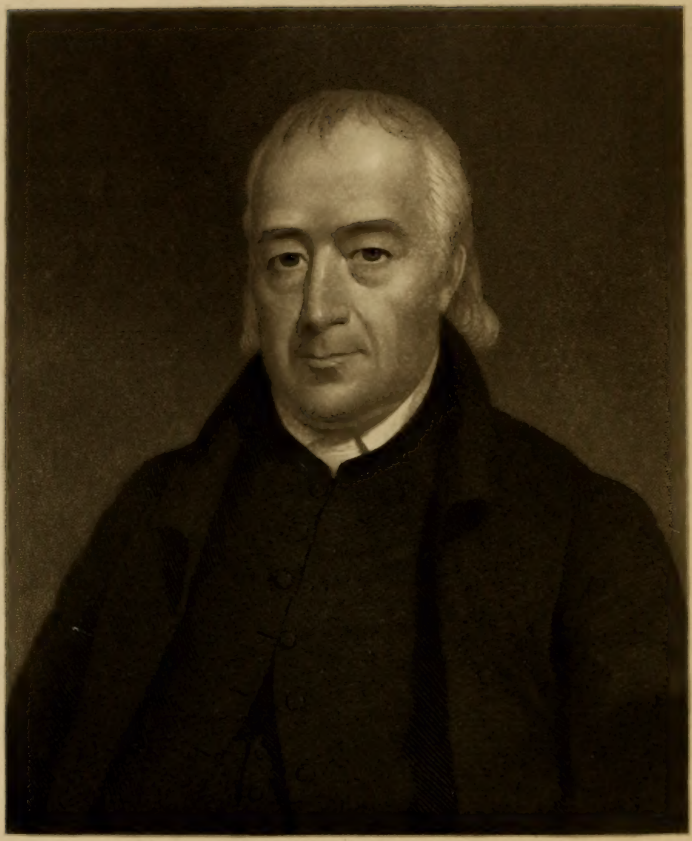

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THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

CENTENARY MEMORIAL

OF THE

PLANTING AND GROWTH

OF

PRESBYTERIANISM

IN

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA AND PARTS ADJACENT.

CONTAINING THE HISTORICAL DISCOURSES DELIVERED AT A CONVENTION OF THE SYNODS OF PITTSBURGH, ERIE, CLEVELAND, AND COLUMBUS, HELD IN PITTSBURGH, DECEMBER 7–9, 1875.

WITH APPENDICES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

PITTSBURGH:
PRINTED FOR THE PUBLISHING COMMITTEE,
BY BENJAMIN SINGERLY, 74 THIRD AVENUE;
AND FOR SALE BY
W. W. WATERS, PRESBYTERIAN BOOK STORE.
1876.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1876, by
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NOTE.

The profits from this work are to be appropriated toward the endowment of the "Elliott Lectureship" in the Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pa.

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THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY:
Early Revivals; The "Falling Work;" Lay-Helpers; etc.
By AARON WILLIAMS, D.D.

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Colleges, Academies, and Female Seminaries.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE *Centennial Memorial Convention*, which assembled in the First Church, Pittsburgh, December 7–9, 1875, was but the last of a series of Conventions which have been held at irregular intervals at Pittsburgh, for conference and prayer with reference to a revival of religion among the churches of this region.

In 1842 there was a convocation of ministers and elders from the Synods of Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and Ohio, at which the venerable Elisha Macurdy, then in the eightieth year of his age, appeared, and addressed the convention with great affection and solemnity, closing with this appeal, "Brethren, wake up! Talk to sinners kindly, affectionately, frequently, and God *will* pour out his Spirit. I have no doubt but God is ready to pour out his Spirit if we will do our duty. Farewell, brethren, and may God be with you."

This convention was followed by large outpourings of the Spirit of God.

Again, in December, 1857, the ministry and eldership were convened from a radius of two hundred miles. They met, as before, in the First Church. During some of the sessions the whole assemblage was in tears, and old men and strong men were almost speechless with emotion. That convention was followed by a mighty revival, which overspread this country during the ensuing winter and through the following year. Out of it grew the "world's concert of prayer," on the first week of January, which was first proposed at Lodiana, India, by the missionaries of the Presbyterian Board, "having (as they say) been greatly refreshed by what we have heard of the Lord's dealings in America."

A convention was also held at Pittsburgh, in January (15–17), 1861, at which about three hundred ministers and elders were in attendance, representing the region of country embraced in the "four Synods." It was a refreshing season of conference and prayer. An excellent pastoral letter, prepared by Dr. Jacobus, was adopted and sent forth to be read in the churches, many of which were richly blessed during the ensuing year.

Another convention was held, commencing February 12, 1867, in Pittsburgh, composed of representations of twenty Presbyteries embraced in the four Synods of Pittsburgh, Allegheny, Wheeling, and Ohio. This was also called a *centennial*, having special reference to the missionary visit of Rev. Charles Beatty and Rev. George Duffield to this region about one hundred years before, by appointment of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. The date of this convention, however, was too late for a proper centennial, the first visit of Charles Beatty to Fort Duquesne, and his preaching there, having taken place in 1758, and his later visit above mentioned in 1766. At this convention the histories of several of the Presbyteries were read by persons previously appointed to prepare them; and a standing committee was appointed, consisting of Rev. Charles C. Beatty, D.D., LL.D., as chairman, to secure the preparation of a "memorial volume," which should record the history of Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania during the preceding century. Owing to the growing infirmities of the venerable chairman, Rev. Dr. James I. Brownson, of Washington, a member of the committee, became the acting chairman. Several brethren were appointed to prepare the different parts of the proposed history, and entered upon their work. But the enterprise was at length abandoned, or rather postponed, for two reasons. (1st) it was felt that the more appropriate time for such a centennial as was proposed, would be the year 1875, this being the anniversary of Rev. John McMillan's advent to this region and becoming the first settled pastor. And (2d) no arrangement had been made in the way of funds to meet the expense of publication, and the committee could not undertake it at their own risk. This convention was also followed, as the preceding ones had been, with rich blessings upon many of the churches during the ensuing year.

The year 1875 having arrived, the watchful acting chairman of

the memorial committee took measures for carrying out the purposes of the convention of 1867. At a meeting of the Alumni Association of the Western Theological Seminary, held in Allegheny, April 22d, the subject was brought up, and Rev. Messrs. Aaron Williams, (made chairman at Dr. Brownson's request), James I. Brownson, James Allison, S. J. M. Eaton, and George Hill, were appointed a committee of arrangements to take the necessary measures for calling a centennial memorial convention, within this year, to celebrate the planting of Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania by John McMillan and his co-laborers; and to secure the delivery of appropriate historical discourses, which should compose the Memorial Volume contemplated by the previous convention. The four Synods of Pittsburgh, Erie, Cleveland, and Columbus, were to be invited to join in holding this convention. The committee met in May, and, finding some changes necessary in the list of writers previously appointed, proceeded to reconstruct the list of authors by reappointing those who were most available, and adding others. The result of these arrangements the reader has before him in the present volume. The committee commend the work to the churches as a memorial of what our fathers' God has done for us during the last hundred years, and to the blessing of Him in whose covenant favor we confide.

A. W.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Rev. John McMillan, D.D.

Rev. Joseph Patterson.

Rev. Francis Herron, D.D.

David Elliott, D.D., LL.D.

Charles C. Beatty, D.D., LL.D.

Canonsburg Academy (formerly Jefferson College).

Washington and Jefferson College.

The Old Western Theological Seminary.

Western Theological Seminary (present building).

Beatty Hall and Library Hall.

Steubenville Seminary.

Pennsylvania Female College (East End, Pittsburgh).

THE LIFE AND LABORS

OF THE

REV. JOHN M^cMILLAN, D.D.

THE GOSPEL WHICH HE PREACHED, AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE CIVILIZATION OF WEST PENNSYLVANIA.

A DISCOURSE

BY THE

REV. D. X. JUNKIN, D.D.

THE LIFE AND LABORS

OF

REV. JOHN McMILLAN, D.D.*

Deut. xxxii. 7.—*Remember* the days of old, *consider* the years of many generations: ask thy father, and he will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee.

HUMAN progress is entirely dependent upon the memory. By this power the mind retains or recalls knowledge once acquired, and thus garners the materials of thought, comparison, and deduction. Memory is at once the *recorder* of the intellect and the storehouse of the affections. Without this faculty of mind, man would be a perpetual *novice*—his past a *blank*, his future *imbecility*—indeed he would not be *man*. Without memory, science and art would perish.

What memory is to the *individual*, history is to social man. "History," said one, "is the memory of nations." It teaches philosophy by example and experience. It gathers light from the past to shed upon the future, and to con its lessons is a dictate both of reason and of revelation; for, whilst it increases the sum of human knowledge, it kindles a virtuous emulation of deeds beneficent and great, inspires gratitude to the God of history, and proclaims his glory.

It was doubtless from considerations of this kind that Moses reca-

*This discourse is an abridgment of the one previously delivered at Pigeon Creek and Chartiers, the pastoral charge of Dr. McMillan.

pitulated the history of Israel, and enjoined, as he did in this text, its rehearsal in every generation—"*Remember* the days of old, *consider* the years of many generations," etc. Although this passage and its context is richly suggestive, I propose not to detain you with a full discussion of it, and I shall make no further use of it, except to vindicate, by divine authority, the *propriety* of celebrations like the present, and the *duty* of studying the history of God's providence—especially such events as relate to the Church of Christ and to the interests of civilization and regulated liberty.

The holy nation, and almost all others, have associated important events in their history, not only with monumental erections, but with memorial days, anniversaries, jubilees, and centenaries. For this, in your speaker's judgment, we have divine authority in our text and numerous other Scriptures. We are *exhorted*, perhaps commanded, to "remember the days of old."

History, when truthful, is a narrative of God's providence; and he who fails to recognize "God in history" has no adequate conception of it. The *plot* of the vast drama of time, of which history is but the successive acts and scenes, was *planned* by the divine mind. He shapes the destiny of nations. He decrees the rise and fall of empires. He is "King of kings." His glorious purposes ever in view, He provides instruments best adapted to their accomplishment. When social tempests rage, He

"Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm."

And if it be our duty to *know* God in his *being*, *perfections*, and *works*, it is our duty to "remember the days of old, and consider the years of many generations."

This brief discussion of our text will suffice to exhibit its meaning, and opens the way, whilst it supplies an apology, for a glance at the history of our Church in this region; and especially for a sketch of the life and labors of the venerable man whom I have been requested to commemorate.

The pioneers of Pennsylvania were a race of men better qualified to *make* history than to *write* it. The axe, the mattock, the plough, and the rifle, were implements with which they were more familiar than with the pen. Having to struggle with the forest, with wild beasts, and with savage men, they performed heroic deeds worthy

of historical record; but they had no leisure or facilities for recording them; and it is difficult to rescue from the dim traditions and the imperfect records of the times the story of their toils and prowess and sufferings, worthy to be written in imperishable lines.

If the civil and military enterprises of a new country are difficult to ascertain and verify, it is still more difficult to trace the founding, in a frontier country, of that kingdom which "cometh not with observation." The physical development of a country—the felling of the forest—the building of cabins and towns—the opening of roads—the struggle with savage foes—the burning of dwellings—the murder or captivity of neighbors—are events that impress themselves upon the common memory and become the traditions of a settlement, and are recited by the parents to the children at a thousand firesides, and are often recorded in letters and newspapers. But the quiet rearing of the first family altars in forest homes—the first gathering for social worship beneath the forest shades—the first readings of the Holy Book—the first echoes of the voice of prayer and praise from the grand old hills—the first advent of the missionary of the cross—the noiseless planting of the seeds of piety, which afterwards grow into congregations of the Lord—these, because less exciting, are less clearly remembered.

Still, there is much material for the church history of Western Pennsylvania—far more than could be compressed into a single discourse of reasonable length; and, as the theme assigned me is *biographical* rather than *historical*, I shall introduce *general* history only so far as my specific subject may demand.

On the 25th day of July, 1775, two mounted men might have been seen slowly riding over the Laurel Hill. The path was almost impracticable, the day was sultry, and both horses and riders gave proofs of weariness. Their equipage was such as was usual at that early period—saddle, bridle, capacious leather saddle-bags, corduroy over-alls, with overcoats strapped upon the saddle-pad behind the riders. About noon they arrived at the cabin of a Mr. Barker, near the western base of Laurel Hill. At that point the travelers part company, their routes leading in different directions. One of them tarried at Mr. Barker's till five o'clock in the afternoon, in order to obtain the convoy of that settler to the next house, about thirty miles distant. The person thus awaiting convoy through the

wilderness was a young man not yet twenty-three years old, of slender but well knit frame, a little above medium height, of rather dark complexion, of grave and comely, but not very handsome features, and of a demeanor that betokened earnestness and energy of character beyond his years. He was dressed in the garb usual with clergymen of the period, now dusty from the moil of travel.

This young man had been licensed to preach the Gospel, nine months before, by the Presbytery of New Castle, at East Nottingham, in Chester county.

From that date he had been itinerating in preaching the Gospel, first in the vacancies of his own Presbytery, and then in different places in Augusta and Rockbridge counties in Virginia. In July he crossed the mountain from Staunton to the head of Tygert's valley, and bent his way to the Northwest, preaching in the settlements through which he passed, until he arrived at the western base of Laurel Hill, as already stated.

At five o'clock on the evening of that 25th of July, under the guidance of Mr. Barker, the youthful preacher set forth on his way to the part of the country which was to be the field of his life-long and valuable labors. "Nothing remarkable happened," says he in his journal, "save that Mr. Barker shot a doe, part of which we carried with us. Night coming on, and being far from any house, we were forced to lodge in the woods. We sought for a place where there was water, unsaddled our horses, and hobbled them with hickory bark, and turned them to the hills. We then made a fire, roasted a part of our venison, and took our supper. About ten o'clock we composed ourselves to rest. I wrapped myself in my greatcoat and laid me on the ground, with my saddle-bags for a pillow." Such was the first night spent in Western Pennsylvania by the man who was to prove her chief Apostle. Let us trace him from that night in the woods, until he reached the scene of his nearly sixty years' toil.

"THURSDAY.—This morning we rose very early, ate our breakfast, got our horses, and set to the road again. About noon we arrived at Ezekiel York's (doubtless 'the next house' before mentioned). Here my companion left me, and I had to take to the woods alone. Crossed two hills, which in some parts of the world

would be called mountains, and after traveling what they called twelve miles, came to the glades. My lodging this night was not much better than last night. I had a deerskin and a sheet under me, and a pillow for my head. This, however, I placed under my haunch, to keep my bones from the floor, and I placed my coat under my head." "Friday," continues his journal, "I left the glades and traveled ten miles, to one Coburn's. Here I got some grain for my horse—the first since Wednesday morning. They told me that I was about ten miles from Col. Wilson's, where I intended to tarry the rest of the week; but the day being wet, the road difficult, and houses scarce, I lost my way often. About sunset I came to a cabin, but it was waste. I searched all about, but could find no inhabitants. I then took another path, and reached another cabin; but there was nobody at home, and the door was barred. I went further along the path, but found no shelter. The night being dark and very rainy, I returned to the forenamed cabin, turned my horse into a field, climbed the wall of the cabin, and went into a hole in the roof that served for a chimney. I then opened the door, brought in my saddle, kindled a fire, laid myself down on a sort of a bed, and slept very contentedly till morning. I then buckled on my wet clothes, got my horse, and set out, not knowing which way to steer. But before I had gone many rods, I met the owner of the cabin, told him the story, got directions of the road, and came to Col. Wilson's in time for breakfast."

On the first Sabbath of August he preached at Mount Moriah to a small congregation. This was his first sermon in Western Pennsylvania; and after mentioning the smallness of the audience, he adds: "However, they seemed attentive, and some tears were shed." Those tears were the harbingers of copious showers, afterwards shed under the preaching of the same earnest lips; and that sermon was the first link in a series which reached on for more than half a century.

Returned the same evening to Wilson's, the young preacher remained there till Wednesday, August 4th. Thence we can trace him, by his journal, from point to point, preaching and visiting, until on Saturday, the 21st of August, he arrived at Mr. John McDowell's, on Chartiers Creek, where, on the following day, he

preached his first sermon on that field of his life-labor. Previous to his arriving there, he had visited a number of settlers with whom he had been acquainted east of the mountains, one of them his brother-in-law. These settlers were doubtless from Chester county. On the next day he rode to Patrick McCullough's, on Pigeon Creek, and on Tuesday, the 24th, preached his first sermon in that part of his future charge, at the house of Arthur Forbes.

Such was the time, and such the circumstances, of the first advent of the great and good JOHN MCMILLAN to Western Pennsylvania, and to the churches of Chartiers and Pigeon Creek, in which he was the instrument of a work which told so mightily upon the interests of religion, education, and civilization in this western region.

JOHN MCMILLAN sprung from that sturdy, earnest, godly, and liberty-loving race, the Scotch-Irish. His parents, William and Margaret (Rea) McMillan, emigrated from the North of Ireland to Chester county, Pa., about 1742, and settled at Fagg's Manor, where she died when the subject of this sketch was but ten years old. He was born on the 11th of November, 1752. Like Elkanah and Hannah, his pious parents had devoted him, in purpose and in prayer, to the Gospel ministry. Having lost an infant son, they solemnly vowed that, if God would give them another son they would call him by the same name (John), and devote him, God willing, to the sacred office. The son was given, the vow was fulfilled, and, as we shall see, the child thus devoted was made the instrument, like the forerunner of our Lord, of turning many to the wisdom of the just, to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.

Trained in the family and in the school of the vicinage, he made good progress in primary studies, and in due time entered the Fagg's Manor Academy, then under the direction of that eminent divine and educator, Dr. John Blair. In that school were trained many men who in their day attained eminence, such as Davies, Cummins, Robert Smith, James Finley, Dr. John Rodgers, and others. At that academy young McMillan continued, until its principal, Dr. Blair, was called to Princeton College. He then, at about the age of fifteen, repaired to the grammar school of Pequea, in Lancaster county, and pursued his studies under that

learned scholar and theologian, Dr. Robert Smith. Your present speaker, in his earlier life, saw the scenes of McMillan's training, much as they were a hundred years ago. The churches, forty years ago, were substantial stone structures, the pulpits in the side instead of the end of the building, and with the straight high-backed pews of the most orthodox type. Then, and very likely yet, these ancient churches were surrounded by the grand old forest trees, beneath which the red man had strayed; and at Pequea the tree was pointed out under which George Whitefield had preached.

Young McMillan continued at Pequea until the spring of 1770, when he entered the College of New Jersey, then under the presidency of that great scholar, theologian, statesman, and patriot, Dr. JOHN WITHERSPOON, the vice-president being Dr. Blair, formerly of Fagg's Manor. Previous to entering college young McMillan had been the subject of religious impressions, under the ministry of such men as Blair and Smith, and had united with the church.

But whilst a student at Princeton, his religious views and experience assumed a much more clear and satisfactory type, particularly during a season of revival in the college, which occured not long after he entered it. He was then eighteen years old, and seems to have shared largely in the spiritual blessing. In his manuscript notes, he says, in regard to this season: "At one time there were not more than two or three of the students that were not under serious impressions. On a day which had been set apart by some of the students as a day of fasting and prayer, while the others were at dinner I retired to my study, and while trying to pray, I got some discoveries of divine things which I never had before. I now saw that the Divine law was not only *holy*, *just*, and *spiritual*, but also that it was *good*, and that conformity to it would make me happy. I felt no disposition to quarrel with the *law*, but with myself, because I was not conformed to it. I felt it now easy to submit to the Gospel plan of salvation, and felt a calm and a serenity of mind to which I had hitherto been a stranger. And this was followed by a *delight* in contemplating the divine glory, in all His works; and, in meditating upon the divine perfections, I thought I could see God in everything around me."

In this brief quotation are disclosed the elements of McMillan's

future power and wide-spread influence for good. In that narrow study in old Nassau Hall, which seven years afterwards trembled with the roar of battle, and was partly consumed by British vandalism—in that narrow study, and at that noontide hour, in the soul of that young suppliant on his knees, were sown the seed of lofty principles and mighty impulses, which grew with his growth and strengthened with his strength, and made him the hero that he was. Then was laid by the same Spirit who hath garnished the heavens, the broad and deep foundations of John McMillan's greatness and marvellous influence for good. Then were shed abroad in his heart the grand impulses which bore him forward in study, in labor, in toil, and hardship, and through trials and dangers that might appal the stoutest heart. And in that young student's soul that day were planted the grand *principles* of religion and of regulated liberty, the dissemination and development of which, by him and his fellow-laborers, among the brave and hardy settlers of this region, have laid the broad and stable foundations of our Christian civilization, and made Western Pennsylvania a great, glorious, and prosperous community.

The Gospel which, in that hour of fasting and secret prayer, was more fully shed abroad in that young student's heart, was not the mawkish, sentimental, emasculated Gospel, which is so rife and popular in certain quarters in our day. It is not a Gospel which disregards law—prostrates all distinction between *right* and *wrong*—esteems the righteous and the wicked as equally worthy and safe—softens the lurid flames of Hell to the faintest rose color—palsies the restraints of law by scoffing at its penalties; enfeebles the moral tone of the community by holding up *manhood*, instead of *Godhood*, as the standard of right; abates the abhorrence of sin, by denying that it cost the atoning blood of the Son of God, and boasts that men do not need that blood. It was not a Gospel that teaches men that its provisions are a sort of *insolvent law*, in which God lets down the high claims of eternal justice to the level of man's shattered abilities, and consents to accept a *percentage* of the duties which men owe to God and to the rule of right, instead of a perfect satisfaction. It was not a Gospel that substitutes man's putrid "inwardness" for the moral law, as a rule of life. It was not a Gospel which *fosters*, instead of *eradicating*,

the lusts of our corrupt nature, and bears such fruit as has recently emitted its fetid odors from a Brooklyn Court. No, my countrymen, the Gospel which won the hearts of John McMillan and James Power, and Joseph Smith, and Thaddeus Dod, and Matthew Henderson,* and the other godly and self-denying men, of our own and other branches of the great Presbyterian family, who were the pioneer preachers of this region, was a Gospel that teaches men to *fear* God as well as to *love* Him—to *reverence law* as the exponent of the will of the Supreme—to aim to *satisfy* the *claims* of law, by accepting the suretyship of Christ, who has in our stead obeyed its precept and endured its penalty—a Gospel that makes men feel that they are *under the law* to Christ, and sweetly drawn to obey it, as a rule of life, by the impulse of love and gratitude. It is a Gospel that "magnifies law and makes it honorable," not by the prostration of its penalities, and defeating its requirements, but by a complete *satisfaction* of *both*, through the obedience unto death of the God-man, our Surety and Redeemer. The Gospel which McMillan learned and taught proposed no abatement of the high claims of justice—no compromise with sin, and relinquished no demand for perfect obedience to law. But it pointed to the "Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world"—not by an absolute pardon, which would only encourage rebellion, but by an atoning *obedience* and *sacrifice*, which paid the sinner's debt, and at the same time demonstrated that God was so determined to punish sin that he would not spare his beloved son, when he stood charged even with imputed guilt. It was a Gospel which exibited at once "the goodness and severity of God"—a Gospel which demonstrates by the most terrible tragedy of time, that it is of the *essential nature* of God to vindicate justice by punishing sin, whilst it girdles his throne with the rainbow of mercy and of hope. It is a Gospel of *peace*, originating in eternal *love*, but based upon the rock of eternal *justice*—a Gospel that slays the sinner's enmity and wins him to obedience, by demonstrating God's love to the sinner in the death of Jesus —a Gospel that provides a propitiation (forgiveness), but only that its author may be *feared;* because it proves that God *never* forgives

* Matthew Henderson was the first Associate Presbyterian Minister in West Pennsylvania. He labored at Chartiers near Canonsburg in what is now the U. P. congregation of that place.

until it is *right* and *safe* to forgive. In short, it is a gospel that gives "glory to God in the highest, on earth peace and good will to men."

Such was the Gospel which at that noontide hour flooded the mind of the youthful McMillan with a light "above the brightness of the sun." Like the monk of Erfurth, it came to him in his solitary cell. Like the Apostle Paul, it came to him "about noon;" and it is not an uninteresting coincidence that the Apostle of the Gentiles and the Apostle of Western Pennsylvania received this fresh baptism about the same hour of the day. Paul's illumination was preternatural—McMillan's by the ordinary operation of the Spirit of Grace; and if the former was called to a more magnificent and world-wide work, the latter was called to a mission the results of which no human arithmetic can measure.

We have dwelt longer upon this crisis in our hero's history, because, as we judge, it contains the *seeds of things*—the *embryo* of that mighty influence which God, through this good man, exerted upon the growing population of this region, and which He continues to exert throughout the vast West. Into his young heart, at that crisis in his history, was poured the light of that Gospel which he and his fellow-evangelists brought across the Alleghenies and planted amid the grand old forests of Western Pennsylvania—a Gospel whose real believers will lie abased before their God, whilst they *spurn* the yoke of *man*—a Gospel which draws men to God and to duty "with cords of love"—that teaches them to respect the rights of others, and defend their own—that inculcates the true elements of *law, order, and regulated liberty*—and a Gospel whose outgrowth, into a formulated church government, as naturally produces REPRESENTATIVE REPUBLICANISM as does the development of the acorn the oak. The great ideas of *social federation, representation, trust, responsibility, social duty*, and *accountability to God*, are all taught in the Calvinistic theory of the Gospel; and all these are necessary elements of a true civilization and of civil liberty. And if our noble commonwealth has exhibited a model representative democratic government, which her younger sister states have been glad to copy, and which challenges the admiration of the world, she owes it to the doctrines of evangelical religion; and it is a matter of history, that Presbyterian men exercised a controlling influence

in shaping the fundamental law and the jurisprudence of our commonwealth.

And it is a matter of gratulation, that the seed sown by McMillan and his compeers has taken such deep root, in the region of which this city is the metropolis, and has produced so sturdy and prolific a crop that, at the close of a century after their advent, the descendants of the pioneers maintain, with unswerving firmness, the principles and institutions of their fathers. West Pennsylvania still contains "*the backbone of Presbyterianism.*" And, as an index of this, it is but just to say that the local organ of our Church in this city (and it is but the echo of the unswerving conservatism of our people) has firmly maintained sound doctrine and civil and ecclesiastical order, and has never truckled to the loose morality and the corrupt liberalism of the times. It has never failed to rebuke, in terms just and explicit, that morbid tolerance of error and social corruption, which springs from the fact that their abettors are rich and fashionable, or their authors men of genius and popular talents.

But to resume our narrative. Mr. McMillan graduated in the fall of 1772, and returned to Pequea and prosecuted theological study under Dr. Robert Smith, as did many of Dr. Smith's former students, from time to time, as there were then no theological seminaries in the country. In due time he was received under the care of the Presbytery of New Castle, and, after the usual trials, licensed to preach the Gospel, as already stated. This occurred before he was quite twenty-two years of age. We have already traced his journey and his labors, until he arrived upon the field of his life work.

In order to a full appreciation of the labors of McMillan and his compeers, it would be necessary to exhibit the state of this country, and of its sparse inhabitants, at the time of their advent. This would swell the present discourse beyond due limits, and might trespass upon fields allotted to others of my learned friends, who are to take part in this celebration. I will only call attention, then, to those marvellous movements of Divine Providence, by which this region was reserved to become the home of Presbyterians.

At one time it seemed likely that the lilied flag of France would wave from Quebec to New Orleans, over the Canadas and the vast valley of the Mississippi—symbol of the power of the

Bourbons, and protector of the Popish religion. At another time, under the auspices of the Ohio Company, of which the Washington family were active members, there was a prospect that this region would be settled by Germans, and that the language of Luther would here prevail. But God had other purposes; and this land was reserved for the occupancy of that race which, having migrated, for conscience' sake, from North Britain to Ulster, had stood, at Derry and on the banks of the Boyne, for the Protestant religion and the liberties of the world.

It was a kind and wondrous Providence by which the power of France was swept from the vast region which they once claimed, and by which the scarlet woman was kept from rearing her altars and establishing her persecuting power in this magnificent domain. It was a wondrous Providence that reserved for the Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians a home in this grand region, and committed to their rude but honest hands the chief part in laying the foundations and shaping the structure of our institutions, civil and religious.

The main events, civil and military, which secured this result, are known to the tyro in our history. The French were expelled. The honest Germans would not settle in a region over which Episcopacy claimed *rule* and *tithes* (for Virginia claimed this region at the time Lawrence Washington was negotiating for German emigrants, and Episcopacy was the established religion of the old Dominion), and thus it was that West Pennsylvania was reserved for the Scotch-Irish.

We have not space to describe the slow and difficult process by which these western counties were settled. The population was still sparse when Mr. McMillan arrived. The people were still grappling with the forests, and endangered by savage foes. No more interesting historical field is afforded in our country than is West Pennsylvania. The simple facts connected with its settlement, its defence against the French and the Indians, and its progressive development, transcend in interest the stories of romance. From the time that the first traders visited this region, as early as 1715 or 1720, on to the date of the advent of the first permanent white settler, Christopher Gist, in 1752, its history is one of thrilling interest; and illustrates, in the most wonderful manner, the

grand unity of that scheme of Divine providence, the record of which makes up the drama of human history. The visit of a young Virginian to Venango Le Bœuf, and the forks of the Ohio, the next year after Christopher Gist's settlement, constitutes a link in one of the most stupendous chains of human events which history records. Gist accompanied this young man on this important journey; and, on their return, the youth narrowly escaped death by an Indian bullet, in what is now Butler county; and was near perishing the next day in the swollen waters of the Allegheny, a short distance above where this city now stands. But God preserved him then, and subsequently, to become the FATHER of his Country, and to give to history its most ILLUSTRIOUS NAME.

On his way out, that youth had cast his military eye over "the Point," the future site of Forts Duquesne and Pitt; and, when he returned to Williamsburg, he made such a report of the military importance of the position as induced Governor Dinwiddie to send Capt. Trent, the next year, with a company of soldiers, to take possession of this locality and erect a fort. Trent arrived on the 17th of February, 1754, took military possession of the site of the future Pittsburgh, and commenced the erection of a fort; but before it was completed, it was, on the 17th of April, beleagured by Contracœur with a large body of French and Indians. These came down the Allegheny river in about one thousand canoes and batteaus. Trent being absent, his lieutenant, Ward, was constrained to capitulate, and returned to Virginia. And thus, on the site of this city, began, a century and a quarter ago, that memorable conflict, the old French war, which sent its thunders into every quarter of the globe, sent desolation along our frontiers, and resulted in sweeping the lilies of France from the vast domain which she claimed in Canada and the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi.

Previous to this war, a few settlers had arrived—some from Maryland, some from Virginia, but much greater numbers from Cumberland, Franklin, and other counties of Pennsylvania. But they had nearly all abandoned their rude homes, upon the commencement of that war. After the peace of 1762, many of them returned, and the tide of the immigration, notwithstanding the alarms and horrors of Pontiac's war, became steady, and many flocked to this

region—some from other colonies, but chiefly from the parts of Pennsylvania which had been settled by the Scotch-Irish, and also from Ireland itself.

Like Gideon's men, the pioneers were *select*—selected by a process somewhat similar. None but the hardy, the brave, the rough and ready, the self-denying and adventurous, would be likely, voluntarily, to encounter the toils and perils of the wilderness. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians preponderated, although considerable numbers of German descent and some from other colonies mingled with them. They were of the middle class in society, which is removed alike from the effeminacy of the wealthy and the indolence and ignorance of the lower *strata*. Whatever the Presbyterian immigrant might be forced to leave behind, he brought with him to his forest home the *Bible* and *Shorter Catechism*, and, long before there were any ministers, or organized congregations, or public worship, many a cabin in the wold resounded with the voices of praise and prayer.

At the time of McMillan's advent, Pittsburgh was an irregular village. The country was a wilderness. A dense and majestic forest reared its countless sturdy columns and tossed its stalwart branches over this broad expanse of hill and valley, broken only here and there by "a deadening" or incipient clearing. The roads were rough and often dangerous, mere bridle-paths, almost impracticable for any conveyance except the pack-horse. The rude log cabin, with its clapboard roof and doors, its earthen, or at best its puncheon floor, and rough and sylvan furniture, was the settler's home. Salt, iron, glass, powder, shot, and all such necessaries, had to be brought over the mountains on pack-horses. Their food consisted of the products of the soil, prepared with the rudest appliances, to which milk, pork, venison, and other fruits of the chase were added. Their clothing, after the garments brought with them were worn out, was largely of their own manufacture. Flaxen cloth and linsey-woolsey constituted the garments of the women and the hunting shirts of the men, whilst buckskin was a staple both for moccasins and dress. As many as nineteen bridegrooms have been known to be married in the same blue cloth coat, the only dress coat in as many wedding parties, which was made to do duty, by fair sale or generous loan, for several years. Their manners and customs were as simple and unostentatious as

their attire. A frank hospitality marked their intercourse with neighbors and with strangers. A sound morality, a simple honesty, and often, too, decided piety, imparted lofty character to the pioneers. Their women were worthy of such husbands, and worthy to be the mothers of the generations which, under blander auspices, have descended from them. They were heroines in their sphere, and many a deed of daring was performed by woman's hand in those trying times.

It was to such a wilderness land, and to such a brave, thoughtful, and unsophisticated people that John McMillan and his fellow-laborers came an hundred years ago.

After his first visit to Chartiers and Pigeon Creek, he preached at several points in this region, and amongst others at Fort Pitt, where he spent the second Sabbath of September. Thence he returned to his father's house in Fagg's Manor, which he reached in October, 1775. He then attended Presbytery, and was appointed to go on another missionary tour, to the valley of Virginia, and thence westward; and we can trace his progress, by the help of his journal, through Maryland, Virginia, and over the bleak Alleghanies, in the depth of winter, till he again arrives at Pigeon Creek, on the fourth Sabbath of January, 1776, and on the next Sabbath at Chartiers. This second visit awakened great interest in the places where he labored, and he often speaks of the assemblies being "numerous, attentive, and much affected." He returned home in March. Soon after a call was made and forwarded to his Presbytery, which he accepted on the 22d of April, 1776. He was then dismissed to the Presbytery of Donegal, then the most westerly Presbytery of the Church, and by it he was ordained, in view of taking charge of those congregations in which he spent his life. His ordination took place at Chambersburg, June 19, 1776.

Meantime the war of the Revolution had begun. Lexington and Bunker's Hill and other battle fields had been baptized to freedom in patriot blood. Fifteen days after McMillan's ordination the Declaration of Independence was made and signed, and the country committed to a life or death struggle.

He tarried in the East until August 6th, when he was married to Miss Catherine Brown, daughter of an elder of the church of Upper Brandywine. The marriage was solemnized by the Rev. John Car-

michael, father of the late Mrs. Robert Jenkins, of Windsor Place, Lancaster county, and grandfather of the wives of Drs. John W. Scott, John W. Nevin, Alfred Nevin, and Rev. W. W. Latta. It was this patriotic pastor, as his daughter, Mrs. Jenkins, informed me, who, when on a visit to Washington's camp at Valley Forge, heard our great chief complaining of the great want of *linen* for dressing the wounds and sores of his suffering soldiers. Carmichael returned home, and, on the next Sabbath, made an appeal to the patriotic women of his charge, asking them to spare three or four inches from the lower end of a certain garment, to meet this crying want in the suffering army. The women of Brandywine responded to the call; and, by Tuesday noon, the pastor might might have been seen approaching the camp with several bags full of narrow rolls of linen, just such as the surgeons needed. The country was so poor, and importations being cut off, it was necessary for people to deny themselves, in order to sustain the patriot cause. And I have no doubt that the young bride, Catharine McMillan (for she was still there), contributed her full share to the stores of the surgeons. And these were no flimsy cotton rags (cotton was then unknown), but good substantial home-made linen.

Such were the perils of the times, that McMillan did not take his wife to the West until more than two years after his marriage. But he visited his congregations, spent much time amongst them, preaching, ordaining elders, and administering ordinances. At length, in November, 1778, his family accompanied him to the field of their future abode and labors.

In a letter written to Dr. Carnahan, in 1832, he describes the home to which he brought his family. "The cabin in which I was to live was raised, but it had neither roof, chimney, nor floor. The people, however, were very kind; they assisted in preparing my house, and on the 16th of December I moved into it; but we had neither bedstead, tables, stool, chair, nor bucket. All such things we had to leave behind, as there was no wagon-road over the mountains, and everything had to be carried on pack-horses. We placed two boxes, one upon the other, for a table, and two kegs served for seats, and having committed ourselves to God, in family worship, we spread a bed on the floor and slept soundly till morning. The next day, a neighbor coming to my assistance, we made

a table and stools, and in a little time we had everything comfortable about us. Sometimes, indeed, we had no bread for weeks together, but we had plenty of pumpkins and potatoes, and all the *necessaries* of life; as for *luxuries*, we were not concerned about them. We enjoyed health, the Gospel and its ordinances, and pious friends. We were in the place where God would have us be; and we did not doubt but that He would provide everything necessary. And, glory to His name, we were not disappointed."

Brethren and countrymen, what a mighty influence for good was begun in that log-cabin, on the night of the 18th of December, 1778! When that young minister and his young and godly wife knelt that night in family prayer, a train of causes was set in operation, which reached on through more than half a century, and is still operating for good far beyond the sphere of their personal agency. The Gospel, as preached by him and by those who were converted under his ministry, or educated through his agency, has proved mighty through God to the accomplishment of grand results. As a minister, an educator, and a citizen, he was a man of wondrous work. Possessing a strong physique, a mind above mediocrity, an education solid and in advance of his times, his labors must have been simply prodigious, especially in the early years of his ministry, when the poverty of his people prevented them from giving him an adequate stipend, and his own hands had to minister to his necessities. To write always one, and sometimes two, sermons a week, and to commit them to memory—to visit his flock, scattered over a wide district of forest country—to catechise, to assist at communions, to attend church courts—and all, over such roads as the present generation cannot conceive of, demanded Herculean toil and brain work.

And the results of the labors of him and his contemporaries are stupendous. If there is a striking contrast between the log-cabins of the pioneers and the stately mansions that now adorn both town and country; if the Western Pennsylvania of to-day, with her towns, cities, churches, colleges, schools, factories, steamboats, railroads, and her ten thousand appliances of human elegance and comfort, presents a wondrous contrast with the forest-clad, savage-roamed, roadless, and thinly populated Pennsylvania of one hundred years

ago; if we now exult in a civilization such as adorns and blesses social life; and if we may justly claim that our region has sent forth men, means, and influences to shape the great commonwealths which have sprung up west of us, we ought, in simple justice, to trace our own solid greatness and the happy influences which we have been able to set forth, largely to the seed sown by John McMillan and his compeers in toil, and to the plastic power of their life and labors. Into the details of these labors we have not time to enter. A volume could not record them. They were *abundant, unceasing, earnest, and powerful.* The grand old story of the cross was their central and never forgotten theme. The doctrines of the cross—the *motives* and the *glories* of the cross—they loved to proclaim. The fall and depravity of man—the abhorrent nature of sin—the sinner's liability to the law's dread penalty—the need of a Redeemer and an atonement—the love of God in providing both—Christ's death and righteousness—the freedom and fulness of salvation—the necessity of the new birth, faith, and repentance; Sinai, Gethsamane, Calvary, death, judgment, heaven, hell: such were the themes of the preaching of John McMillan and his contemporaries of our own and other branches of the Presbyterian Church in these Western counties. And they are the only themes worthy of the pulpit. These doctrines had, in the British Isles, so leavened society as to accomplish wonderful reformation and sow the seeds of liberty and constitutional government. The Bible, the Sabbath, and Calvinism, had made Britain what she is, and had made Ulster the nursery of freemen. And when these doctrines, in connection with the republican form of church government, were planted in the virgin soil of this region, and amongst a people of strong mother wit, of simple manners, and free as the winds which tossed the forests round them, they had fuller development, and have produced their normal fruits in fuller measure than ever before. I except only New England, where the same causes wrought the same glorious results.

Dr. McMillan's voice, even when your present speaker sat under it, in 1829–31, was strong, clear, and powerful in the tones of denunciation, but often meltingly tender. As I remember him, he was peculiarly powerful in exhibiting the terrors of the law. He almost made you hear the mutterings and feel the vibrations of Sinai's

thunder; and yet, when setting forth the love of Jesus, his voice would mellow to the tenderest tones. At the communion season he was peculiarly effective. Then his heart, and eyes, and voice were like those of one fresh from Gethsamane and Golgotha. Methinks I can hear him yet, as in melting accents, he would say to the communicants, as they sat around the long white table: "Eat, O friends; drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved!" Forty-six years ago, last March, I sat down, for the first time, at the holy table, in the dear old church of Chartiers. The lovely and beloved John Cloud, who, with the lamented Laird, laid his bones beneath the torrid sands of Africa, our first martyr missionary, sat by my side. Dr. McMillan served that table; and the memory of that scene shall never fade from this heart. It was a Bochim. So tenderly did the Doctor portray the scenes of Calvary, that every eye ran over, every heart was full. My dear friend Cloud was convulsed with emotion, and the entire audience was moved. My venerated President, Dr. Matthew Brown, was there, with soul aglow, assisting in the ordinance; and it was a day to be remembered. Alas! how few then present linger here below. But it is well—Heaven only is home!

It might be pleasant, on this centenary, to make mention of the places and houses of worship of one hundred years ago; to follow the early preachers as they proclaimed the Gospel, first in the private cabin-houses, then in "the tent," located near some sparkling spring, with logs or puncheons for seats, ranged like the seats of a church; a platform roofed over for a pulpit, with a board in front for the books, and a bench for a seat, with no shelter for the congregation but the grand old forest trees. Many a time have McMillan and his compeers proclaimed the Gospel from one of these "tents," in a church whose walls were the horizon, or at best, the surrounding hills, whose pillars were the sturdy forest trees, whose ceiling was the sky, and whose floor was the grassy or the leaf-strewn earth.

Then succeeded the structure of unhewn logs, roofed with clapboards, sometimes "chuncked and daubed," and sometimes not. Then, as the resources of the worshipers improved, the hewn log meeting-house, with recess in the centre of each long side, so that two lengths of logs could be builded in, the pulpit occupying one

of the recesses. Then came, as years rolled on, the structures of frame, stone, and brick; but none of these last belonged to the period we celebrate.

For a long time they had no means of heating their churches in winter. No stoves were to be had; and even when it was proposed to introduce them, it was resisted by some as an innovation almost heretical. Hardy dames must our grandmothers have been. Hardy men their sons and husbands. Sometimes an earthen hearth would be placed in the centre of the meeting-house, and a pile of wood or charcoal would afford some heat; and the open puncheon floors, and abundant crevices between the logs, afforded escape to the carbonic-acid gas, which else had suffocated our orthodox ancestors.

Communion seasons, in the earlier years, were less frequent and better attended than now. Sometimes hundreds would gather from near and distant congregations to share the blessed privilege; and such was the hospitality of the times that all found entertainment. Sometimes thousands would be drawn together; and with wagons and other appliances for shelter, many would remain upon the ground from day to day—a camp meeting.* Glorious revivals often marked these assemblies; and in many such our Christian hero bore effective part. And for all that is sublimely simple, solemn, and impressive in the worship of God, some of these scenes in the grand old forests of these counties throw the more artistic services of our most gorgeous churches into utter shade.

I will have time only to mention, without elaborating, that which was by no means the least important part of the life-work of my hero. Nor is it necessary, as this subject will be fully treated by my brother, Dr. Brownson. He was the *father of education*, in its

* The pioneers brought with them from the older countries, and from Ireland and Scotland, the custom of using *unleavened bread* at the Lord's Supper. There can be no doubt that this custom originated in a desire to conform, as closely as possible, to the ordinance as originally instituted. There can be no doubt that unleavened cakes were used at the first Lord's Supper; and that it was considered as symbolical, even under the Christian dispensation, is manifest from 1 Cor. v. 8. When the custom of using *sweetened* unleavened cakes came in, or why introduced, we cannot ascertain. It is not universal. There can be no doubt that unleavened bread, in the form of cake, is more convenient than bread from an ordinary leavened loaf; whilst it is certainly not *less* scriptural.

higher grades, in this western land. True, Smith, Dodd, and others started schools at an early date, and deserve much praise. But McMillan began his cabin-college early, and maintained it long, until it was merged in the Canonsburg Academy, and then in Jefferson College. He educated more than one hundred young men, most of whom entered the ministry, and others became distinguished in other professions. What human arithmetic can calculate the influence for good that resulted from his educational labors, and then from the teaching and the preaching of his pupils, and theirs, in a widening ratio of progression. As an educator, he is entitled to the gratitude of posterity.

Fourteen years ago, in a little metrical memorial of my class (1831), delivered in Providence Hall, Jefferson College, I made mention of several of the early worthies in the history of the college; and, as I cannot give my estimate of my venerable subject in fewer words, you will pardon a quotation from my little poem:

"There was another, fifty years ago,
Still lingering mid these scenes—a saint below;
A reverend relic of a bygone age,
The Christian pastor, teacher, patriot, sage;
By all the sons of Jefferson revered,
I see him now—just as he once appeared,
Above the medium height, erect and square—
Frost slightly sprinkled o'er his masive hair;
His eyes benignant, features long and grave—
Step slow and steady—manners blunt and naive;
His costume—he despised the gay *beau monde*—
Fashion prescribed not what he doffed and donned—
Broad-brim and doublet, broad skirt, small clothes, won
Respectful notice; 'twas the style of Washington!
A wit, a scholar, patriot, and divine,
His name in Western annals long shall shine.
While yet, on Western hill, and plain, and glen,
Roam'd savage beasts and not less savage men;
While settlers' cabins, few and far between,
Dotted these wilds; and wigwam fires were seen
Gleaming along meandering Chartiers,
He came, the Apostle of the pioneers.
With earnest manner, and with tearful eye—
His pulpit earth—his sounding-board the sky—
And oft his trusty rifle by his side;
His hearers armed against a savage foe.

He spake, mid forest shades, of Him who died,
Pointed the way to Heav'n, and warn'd of coming woe.
Mid scenes like these, he and his brave compeers—
The stalwart Presbyterian pioneers
Of Western Pennsylvania—sowed the seed,
Of which their sons now reap the glorious meed:
Religion, education, freedom, arts,
A teeming husbandry and crowded marts,
Refinement, enterprise, and plenty reign,
Where erst roam'd prowling beasts and savage men.
And songs of Zion now are sweetly sung,
Where erst the war-whoop and the death song rung.

All honor to the men whose stalwart arms,
'Mid toil, privation, and war's dread alarms—
Whilst struggling for a home and daily bread,
In faith and prayer the deep foundations laid,
On which our glorious institutions rest!
Oh! be their names revered, their mem'ry blest;
And, while we give their deeds to hallowed fame,
High on the scroll write John McMillan's name!
When embyro Jefferson, neath clapboard roof,
Of future greatness gave the earliest proof—
A cabin college in the wold—he won
The honored title—FOUNDER OF JEFFERSON.

Of many interesting incidents in the history of this good and great man we have not time to speak. Of the defects of his public character and career, and they were few, it might be ungracious to make mention. The most prominent of these was, perhaps, an undue *severity* in rebuking what he disapproved, and a certain *bluntness* of manner and speech which sometimes repelled those whom he might have won. As illustrative of this trait, we might mention his impatience with the freaks of fashion and with foppery in dress. He clung to the cocked hat, breeches, and shoe-buckles, long after others had laid them aside; and seemed reluctant to permit woven cloth to supersede the buckskin. Joseph Dunlap, son of the President of the College, was somewhat inclined to foppishness in dress. Meeting him one day when trigly dressed, the doctor broke out with, "Joe, can you tell me the difference between you and the devil?" "Oh, yes," retorted Joe; "the devil wears a cocked hat, a low flapped doublet, a coat of continental cut, breeches and shoes with knee and shoe buckles; but I wear pantaloons and clothing of

modern style." The laugh was against the Doctor, and he joined in it with great good humor.

He loved a practical joke. It is said that once, on his way to Synod, accompanied by that devout man, Joseph Patterson, they asked for a little whiskey, by way of making some compensation for the watering of their horses at a country inn. A small quantity was poured into a glass, when Mr. Patterson proposed asking a blessing. Dr. M. assented, and whilst this devout brother was saying a somewhat protracted grace, the Doctor emptied the glass, and in reply to the rather blank look of his brother, he remarked, "You must watch, as well as pray." The story of Dr. Ralston soundly thrashing a bully, who was treating Dr. McMillan rudely, when the two were on their way to presbytery, is well known. I had the story from Dr. Ralston's son. About 1825, a student, who afterwards became an able minister, was introduced by Dr. Brown to Dr. McMillan, with a view of obtaining aid from a fund of which the latter had control. In the course of conversation it transpired that the student was married, when the doctor, with characteristic bluntness, shook his head, saying, "Oh! the fellow's married, is he? Ah! I don't think my fund will carry double." But I believe after all, it did.* Other anecdotes of our hero might be added, but I must bring this already too lengthy discourse to a close.

The civil history of our region, and other things germaine to this centenary, will be given by other speakers. In these you will be able to discover many things that were hindrances to Christian work among the pioneers. The rival claims of Pennsylvania and Virginia to this region, and the existence for many years of two governments, led to social strife, which hindered the progress of religion. The incursions of hostile Indians was also a great hindrance; and the border wars kept up such a spirit of revenge, as was very unfavorable to piety and the arts of peace. The Whiskey Insurrection, too, was for a time a hindrance, and into its excitements nearly all were drawn. But Dr. McMillan's influence did much to restrain disorder and restore peace. The college war, too, was a

* Dr. McMillan solemnized the marriage of Dr. McElroy, now of New York, to Miss Allison near Canonsburg. When Dr. McElroy's attendant, Dr. George Junkin, tendered a fee, Dr. McMillan declined taking it, saying, "No! No! dog wont eat dog."

hindrance. It was a fight for union, which, like some other fights for union, widened the breach. But I leave these details to others, and forbear.

In the summer and fall of 1833 he had made a very pleasant tour, visiting friends and former pupils, and returning homeward, was suddenly taken ill in Canonsburg, and after a short but severe illness, died at the house of his friend and physician, Dr. Jonathan Leatherman, on the 16th day of November, 1833, aged eighty-one years and five days. He died in the faith, and sustained by the consolations of that Gospel which he had so earnestly proclaimed for nearly sixty years.

"He being dead yet speaketh." The springs and rills of influence for good which he opened still flow on, and have gathered into broad and mighty rivers, which make glad the city of our God. The blessings from a covenant-keeping God still descend from generation to generation. Pigeon Creek and Chartiers still exist, and work effectively for Christ. The sons of Jefferson do many of them still live and labor. Those that are dead yet speak by the influence they have left behind. And all over this broad land, and throughout the missionary world, the waves of blessed influences, set in motion by JOHN MCMILLAN, will roll on, circling wider and wider, till they shall at last break, in sparkling beauty, around the Judgment Throne!

THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

BY

REV. AARON WILLIAMS, D.D.

THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

Showing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and his strength, and the wonderful works which he hath done."—Psalms lxxviii. 4.

WE are aware of the increasing interest which attaches itself to the events of early days the farther we recede from them. "Things which we have heard and known" ourselves, do not awaken our curiosity like those of "which our fathers have told us." There is a commonness in passing occurrences, together with a consciousness that we can readily remember them, that leads us to neglect putting them on record. Many of the experiences of our youth we should be glad to recall more accurately as we advance in years, but they have become almost obliterated from the tablets of memory. How eagerly do we who are growing old desiderate the memoranda which we *ought* to have kept (but did not) of what our fathers have told us of the occurrences of their early days. Increasing distance lends increasing enchantment to the view of those old and almost forgotten events.

Had those old fathers of our Western Presbyterianism been more careful than they were to keep memoranda of their abundant labors and trials and successes; had they even cared to keep their sessional records in some more permanent form than on loose sheets of paper, how highly should we prize such records to-day. But they are not to be found. None of our oldest churches can produce their earliest sessional records, or can tell us of the date and circumstances of their organization. The men of that day were too busy making history to find time to write it. It was sufficient for them that their record was on high.

Besides, paper was scarce and costly in those days, and blank books were probably not to be had, or they were too poor to buy them. Hence their habit of writing in a very small hand. They had to make the most of the paper they had. You that have seen the chirography of Dr. McMillan know that it was almost as fine as diamond print, and yet perfectly clear and legible. In hearing him preach, in my boyhood, I have often noticed (as I sat not far from his left hand) how adroitly he concealed his fully written manuscript from the prejudices of his hearers between the leaves of the small black pocket-Bible, which he always had in his hand.

These centenary celebrations, with which we are becoming familiar, are, in part, an attempt to recover the unrecorded history of the planting and training of those old churches, and to transmit it to the generation following. These are things which none of us have seen or known, but of which our fathers have told us; and it is well that we should gather up, so far as we can, from these ancestral recollections, the precious memories of the Lord's doings in those days, that we ourselves may be refreshed and strengthened by them, and may show to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and his strength, and the wonderful works which he hath done

It is made my duty to record the *religious history* of the times which this Centennial is designed to commemorate. And as time would fail to give that history comprehensively, I shall confine myself to that feature of it which is most characteristic and instructive, namely, the history of the *early revivals*.

The men of those days were "revival men," brought up under revival influences, and accustomed to expect revival seasons as the results of faithful ministerial and Christian labor. They believed in uncommon manifestations of the Holy Spirit's influence, at irregular intervals, as being the normal method in which God builds up His kingdom. They found what were virtually revivals of religion in the days of Joshua, of Samuel, of Josiah, of Hezekiah, of Ezra, and of John the Baptist. They found a revival in the two days' visit of our Lord to Samaria, when many of the prejudiced Samaritans believed on him, and said to the woman, "Now we believe, not because of thy saying, but we have heard him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world."

And besides the great Pentecostal seasons of the Apostles' days, they found revivals under the labors of Irenaeus at Lyons, and of other faithful martyrs of the early church, when, the more severe the persecutions, the more rapid and wonderful was the growth of Christianity; so that in less than six hundred years after Christ, although already between thirty and fifty millions had suffered martyrdom, yet in the beginning of the seventh century there were in many places of the Roman Empire thirty Christians to one Pagan. We read, that "in A. D. 627, in Great Britain, King Edwin, with all his nobles and a very great multitude of people, believed, and were baptized by the missionary Paulinus, who, from morning till evening, was wholly engaged in catechising and baptizing the people who came to him in crowds from every village and neighborhood." Similar seasons were known among the persecuted saints of the Alpine valleys. But more especially were our pioneer ministers familiar with the revivals of Kilsyth and Cambuslang in Scotland, in the early part of the last century, as well as those in our own country under the labors of Edwards and Whitefield, and the Tennents and Blairs of New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania. Fagg's Manor, where McMillan was born and received the earlier part of his education, was a seat of revivals, having been visited with a great outpouring of the spirit under the preaching of Whitefield and Samuel Blair, a work which carried its hallowed influences down to the time of John Blair, under whom McMillan commenced his studies. McMillan, Smith, and Dodd—those "first three" of our worthies—were all educated under revival influences, being graduates of the College of New Jersey, at Princeton—an institution born in the midst of revivals, and established for the special purpose of training up young men for the ministry. The same is true also as to the influences under which were trained Power, Finley, Marquis, and the other ministers of that day, who were the co-laborers of McMillan. They were all familiar with revival scenes and revival preaching.

So also of the early settlers generally of this country. They came, most of them, from the same regions whence came these early ministers, and were accustomed to the earnest preaching and lively Christian zeal which characterized the Presbyterianism of that day. Neither ministers nor people were Antinomian in their views or

spirit. They were decided Calvinists, but their Calvinism was that of Paul, who preached "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God who worketh in you to will and to do of his own good pleasure."

Such was the good seed which, in the providence of God, was sown in this virgin soil; and it is not to be wondered at that such glorious harvests as those which we are about to chronicle were gathered from these fertile fields.

In attempting to trace the history of the revivals of those days, the very earliest of all seem to have been those which occurred in the forts, or "blockhouses," whither the people were driven for protection from the incursions of the savage Indians who still occupied the country north of the Ohio river. These Indian raids, while they were a source of great trial and suffering, were at the same time a means of grace to the people, crowded together as they were in these blockhouses, and with nothing to do but keep watch against the sudden attacks of their wily foes, while they had ample time for Christian conference and prayer. They humbled themselves before God, as receiving his fatherly chastisement in these trials, and they earnestly besought his help in their time of need. It is not surprising that God should pour out his Spirit upon them in these circumstances.

The very earliest of these revivals seems to have been that which took place in Vance's Fort, under the labors of a pious layman, Joseph Patterson, whose faithful efforts in the work of saving souls were so characteristic of him afterwards when he became a minister. The Rev. Joseph Stevenson gives the following account of this work of grace, "It may almost be said that the Presbyterian Church in Western Pennsylvania was born in a revival. In 1778, Vance's Fort, into which the families living adjacent had been driven by the Indians, was the scene of a remarkable work. There was but one pious man in the fort, Joseph Patterson, a layman, an earnest devoted Christian, whose zeal had not waned, even amid the storms and terrors of war; and during the long days and nights of their besiegement, he talked with his careless associates of an enemy more to be dreaded than the Indian, a death more terrible than by the scalping-knife. As they were shut up within very narrow limits, his voice, though directed to one or two, could easily be heard by the whole

company; and thus his personal exhortations became public addresses. Deep seriousness filled every breast, and some twenty persons were there led to Christ. These were a short time subsequently formed into the Cross Creek Church, which built its house of worship near the fort, and had as its pastor for thirty-three years one of these converts, the Rev. Thomas Marquis."*

Still another of these fort revivals occurred about the same time in the Ten-Mile neighborhood, under the labors of Thaddeus Dodd. A blockhouse had been erected here in 1774–75, and was one of the strongest, as well as the most exposed, of

*The above account of the Vance's Fort revival is given as it is found in "Sprague's Annals," vol. IV., p. 84, published in 1859, and repeated in other publications. The Rev. Joseph Stevenson, of Bellefontaine, Ohio, who wrote the account, was the son-in-law of the pastor, Rev. Thomas Marquis, and has been considered good authority. Since the delivery, however, of this, my attention has been called to a Historical Discourse, preached June 24, 1867, by Rev. John Stockton, D.D., for nearly fifty years the honored pastor of the Cross Creek Church, in which the correctness of the account is questioned, so far as the agency of Joseph Patterson is concerned. He says, "In these forts [Vance's and Wells'] social, and afterwards public worship, was kept up for seven years, especially in summer and autumn, the seasons when the Indians were wont most to make their raids. And it was a common thing for men to go to these meetings armed with their trusty rifles, and to stand guard during the services. On the *meetings held in these forts the Holy Spirit was shed down.* At an early period, in Vance's fort, *seven or eight* persons were hopefully converted. Among these were Thomas Marquis and his wife Jane, whose eldest child was baptized by Rev. James Power, in 1778. Mr. Marquis subsequently became first an elder, and afterwards the pastor of this congregation." All this is confirmatory of Mr. Stevenson's account as to the fact of the revival; but Dr. Stockton goes on to show that Mr. Patterson's removal to Cross Creek did not take place until the autumn of 1779; whereas the call for the pastoral labors of Rev. Joseph Smith, from the united congregations of Cross Creek and Upper Buffalo was made out in June of that year. The revival, and the organization of the Cross Creek congregation, must, therefore, have taken place *previous* to Mr. Patterson's arrival. He speaks of him, however, as "an intelligent and ardently pious man, an active leader in meetings for social worship, and afterwards a ruling elder in this church." As these Indian raids continued after Mr. Patterson's coming, it is no doubt true that he was employed in the fort, as Mr. Stevenson relates; and the chief error is in saying that he was the only pious man, and that the church of Cross Creek grew out of his labors. Mr. Stevenson gave the current tradition, but Dr. Stockton's statements are no doubt correct. (See Appendix A.)

these wooden fortresses. The settlers were chiefly from New Jersey, and had come from the very midst of those wonderful scenes of revival which had been witnessed under the labors of Whitefield and the Tennents. They greatly rejoiced when Mr. Dodd, a young minister from the same region, came to settle among them, to share their hardships and to care for their souls. Fort Lindley was named from Demas Lindley, a descendant of one of the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower*, who was among the first settlers on Ten-Mile, and afterwards became prominent as a citizen and a ruling elder in the church. This church seems to have grown out of a glorious revival of religion, which occurred in the fort during one of those frequent Indian raids which drove all the inhabitants of the neighborhood together. More than forty persons were brought to Christ in this revival, and thus there was great joy in the fort as well as in Heaven. Mr. Dodd's sacrifices were rewarded.

Such were some of the "little revivings which the Lord gave His people in their bondage." They were but the beginnings of better things, which were experienced a few years later. In McMillan's charge there was a remarkable season of the outpouring of the spirit, which began in December, 1781. It made its first appearance among a few who met together for sacred worship on the morning of a Thanksgiving Day which had been appointed by Congress on occasion of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. McMillan and his people were patriots, and they mingled their thanksgivings for national blessings with earnest supplications for the presence of the Holy Spirit, now so much needed in order to lift up a standard against the floods of infidelity and irreligion which had come in during the war of the Revolution. While they were yet speaking, God heard them. They were encouraged to appoint other meetings for the same purpose; and the favorable appearances still increasing, they continued to hold "Sabbath night societies" (or prayer meetings) for nearly two years. It was then usual to spend the whole night in religious exercises. "Nor did the time seem tedious," says McMillan, in his letter to Dr. Carnahan, "for the Lord was there, and His work went pleasantly on." At the first sacramental season after the work began, forty-five were added to the church. This time of refreshing continued in a greater or less degree till 1794, twelve years.

At every sacramental occasion during that period numbers were added to the church. Nor was this work confined to McMillan's field. During the winter of 1781–2 the congregations of Cross Creek and Upper Buffalo, under the ministry of the Rev. Joseph Smith, were visited in like manner with reviving influences. Here, too, the "praying societies" had much to do with the beginning and continuance of the good work. Says the account, "During the winter season, week day and night sermons and meetings for social worship were frequent, and many were under deep convictions. The summer following was remarkable for the increase of the number of the awakened, *though most labored long without relief.*" In those days revivals were not conducted on the high-pressure system. The Spirit of God often brooded long upon the face of the deep before God said, "Let there be light;" and the conversions which took place were generally such as proved themselves to be genuine and abiding.

And yet, there is no doubt that God would have done more speedy and mighty works of grace had his people expected it. Judge Edgar, one of Mr. Smith's elders, in a letter which has been preserved, laments that there were so few of God's people who knew anything of *travailing* or *agonizing* for the birth of souls. Nevertheless, it pleased God to bring many out of darkness into His marvellous light, so that about fifty in each of those congregations were added to the church at the fall communions. And the work rather increased than diminished for the ensuing three years. In 1783 about one hundred were received into the church of Buffalo at one communion, and many more were awakened. Even for six or seven years after the work began, there was but little apparent diminution in its power. At Cross Creek, in 1787, a very refreshing communion season was enjoyed. After the usual services on Monday some hundreds were bowed down and silently weeping, and a few crying out in anguish of soul. When the assembly was dismissed most of the people remained on the ground, unwilling to depart from scenes so hallowed, and it was not till after dark that they were persuaded to retire, with a promise of meeting there again the next morning. Tuesday was indeed a solemn day, and was spent chiefly in exhortations and prayers by the Revs. Messrs. Smith,

Dodd, and Cornwell. Another harvest of souls was the result, upwards of fifty being gathered in at the next communion.

Other neighboring congregations also shared in these gracious visitations, particularly Bethel and Lebanon, under the ministry of the Rev. John Clark; Ten-Mile, under the Rev. Thaddeus Dodd; and King's Creek and Mill Creek, then vacant, but with praying societies kept up by faithful laymen. During these several revivals, it is said that more than a thousand persons were brought into the kingdom of Christ—a remarkably large number when we consider the sparseness of the population and the hindrances in the way.

Again, in 1795, the congregation of Chartiers, says Mr. McMillan, enjoyed another remarkable season of the outpourings of God's Spirit, which, though not so extensive or long continued as the previous revivals, yet resulted in the gathering of about fifty into the church, several of whom were students in the Academy in Canonsburg, and afterwards became ministers of the Gospel. In the spring of 1799, the Lord again revived His work in this congregation. Many were at once awakened, including again several students in the Academy, and about sixty joined the church. "This revival," says Dr. McMillan, "as well as that of 1795, was carried on without much external appearance, except a solemn attention and silent weeping under the preaching of the word." Thus far, in all these revivals, the work was rather of a quiet sort, with none of those remarkable "bodily exercises" which appeared afterwards.

In 1798, the year previous to the work just described at Chartiers, the Lord poured out His Spirit on a new settlement north of the Ohio river, in Beaver county, Pa., under the labors of the Rev. Thos. E. Hughes, who had just commenced his ministerial work, having been licensed to preach in October of this year by the Presbytery of Ohio. The showers of grace seem to have begun to descend as soon as he entered this new field, as they often descended during his subsequent pastorate of more than thirty years over this same people. The writer remembers indistinctly having heard the tidings of a great revival in the later years of Mr. Hughes' ministry, in which one hundred persons were added to the church; and having heard him preach in his old age, after he had resigned his charge, such was the unction and earnestness of manner which he still retained, that

I am not surprised at the success which attended his ministry during the fire of his youth. In the first revival to which we refer—that of 1798–9—the work was very powerful, and in a short space of time a considerable number were made subjects of saving grace, among whom were eighteen out of the thirty pupils then attending a school in that place. The youth or children of this school were so deeply exercised that all play and diversions were stopped, and the time usually thus employed was spent in religious reading or conversation, in singing hymns, or retiring into the woods to pray. Upwards of thirty in all were added to the church as the fruit of that revival.

In 1800 the Rev. Joseph Badger, then on his way from Massachusetts to his new field of labor in the Western Reserve, Ohio, reports that he had "passed through and near to twenty Presbyterian congregations, where from 1798 there was a pretty general serious awakening."

Such were some of the gracious visitations of God to the churches of this region during their infancy and up to the close of the last century. They took place under the earnest preaching of the old-fashioned Calvinistic gospel, without any startling novelties or extraordinary means, but with much prayer and faithful work on the part of ministers and people. There was no dilution of the truth, no agency of evangelists, no undue exaggeration of the terrors of the law—nothing but the ordinary means of grace, in connection with special seasons of prayer, and the semi-annual communions, which were each a protracted meeting of four or five days. Seasons of coldness and declension intervened between the seasons of revival, and were fruitful in the growth of error and wickedness. Floods of vanity and carnality, it is said, appeared likely to carry all before them. The love of many of God's people waxed cold, and the ministers were discouraged. Still, the means were faithfully used. The truly pious kept up their praying societies, even though but thinly attended. A concert of prayer on the first Tuesday in every quarter of the year, which had been recommended by the Presbytery of Ohio, in 1796, was generally observed in the churches, and was greatly instrumental in staying the tide of worldliness. Still, the century closed in the midst of a season of great spiritual declension, and great discouragement on the part of God's people. Darkness was

upon the face of the deep; but the spirit of God was moving upon the waters.

We come now to a new period in this history. "About the latter end of the year 1801 and beginning of 1802," we are told, "there was a remarkable attendance upon ordinances; meetings for the worship of God, both public and social, were generally crowded, and there appeared an increasing attention to the word, and great solemnity in the assemblies. The people of God became more sensible of, and affected with, the low state of religion, and the dangerous perishing condition of sinners." In the meantime, intelligence was coming through various channels of a wonderful work of grace which had commenced a year or two before in Kentucky, under the labors of the famous and somewhat fanatical James McGready, who had been one of McMillan's pupils, and was well known in this region. This work had also extended into North Carolina, and was rapidly spreading over the adjacent parts of the South and Southwest. It was, undoubtedly, for the most part, a genuine work of grace, though marred with serious defects and extravagances, which became more and more objectionable as the excitement increased. It was here that those "bodily exercises" began to be experienced, which were considered so inexplicable at the time; and which, under the preaching of enthusiastic and imperfectly educated men, who could not discriminate between a nervous epidemic and the work of God's grace on the soul, assumed forms of extravagance which they never reached under the more sober and judicious ministers of Western Pennsylvania.

The reports of this great revival elsewhere served greatly to encourage the hopes of God's waiting people here, and the expectation became general that the Lord was about to grant them similar blessings.

Such was the state of feeling during the spring and summer of 1802; and special tokens of the divine presence were apparent in some of the churches, especially at Cross Roads and Lower Buffalo—the former being one of the charges of Elisha Macurdy, and the latter of James Hughes. "But the first extraordinary manifestations of the Divine power were made in the congregation of Three Springs, part of the charge of Elisha Macurdy, at the time of the administration of the Lord's Supper, on the fourth Sabbath of Sep-

tember, 1802." Some weeks before this communion season, an agreement had been made among the pious to spend a certain time, about sun-setting on each Thursday, in secret prayer, each alone, to plead with God for the presence of his Holy Spirit on that occasion. On the Sabbath preceding the communion it was evident that God was already hearing their prayers. At the close of the afternoon service, when the congregation was dismissed, about fifty persons remained upon the ground, unwilling to go away, and spent most of the night in social worship. On the Thursday following, which was the usual "fast day" before the sacrament, after the usual service, a prayer meeting was appointed in the evening; and before worship began, two young women (one of whom is still living), who had retired to the woods to pray, fell to the ground, unable to bear up any longer under the distressing anguish of a wounded spirit. Others were soon similarly affected, and most of the time from that until Saturday afternoon was spent in conversing with the distressed in mind. Their general complaint was a sense of guilt, especially in rejecting Christ; hardness of heart, and inability to help themselves; while all acknowledged the justice of God in their condemnation. None as yet had found peace. Most of Saturday night was spent in social worship. And when the congregation was dismissed on Monday, some hundreds remained, and could not be persuaded to leave. All the following night was spent in social exercises, and about the break of day six persons expressed a hope of having obtained an interest in Christ. The assembly dispersed a little before noon on Tuesday.

On the Thursday following, at Cross Roads, it being the day of their monthly prayer meeting, there was also a time of God's power; many were awakened; and here also the whole of the following night was spent in religious exercises. Such was the beginning of the work in Macurdy's two congregations. A few days after, on Tuesday, the 5th of October, it being the day of concert prayer, the Lord also appeared by the powerful operation of the Spirit in the congregation of Cross Creek, the charge of Thos. Marquis. The people seemed unwilling to leave, when dismissed; and a few words from one of the elders to the young people standing about the door caused them all to dissolve in tears. The congregation re-assembled, and most of the night was spent in prayer, conversation, and

praise. How different this from the way in which many of our young people now spend the time together until "the wee small hours!"

On the Sabbath following, being the 10th of October, the Lord's Supper was administered at Raccoon, the charge of Rev. Joseph Patterson, formerly the "layman" at Vance's Fort. After the usual services connected with the communion, social worship and preaching were continued through the night; and the house being too small to contain all who were present, services were also held at the tent, many new awakenings continuing to take place. On Monday, in connection with the usual public worship, many more were made to cry out in agony of soul, unable to sit or stand. Some who had been notorious for their wickedness were stricken down and constrained to cry out in anguish, "Undone! undone! for ever undone!"

On the last Sabbath of October the Lord's Supper was administered at Cross Roads. A great multitude of people collected, many from a distance, with wagons and provisions, prepared to remain during the whole of the solemnity. There was much rain and snow, yet most of the people remained together until Tuesday morning. Nine ministers were present. The house could not hold half the people, and services were held at the same time both in the house and in the tent. Prayers and exhortations were continued all night in the house, except at short intervals, when a speaker's voice could not be heard for the cries and groans of the distressed. On Monday three ministers preached in different places at the same time. After public worship was concluded, and the people were preparing to remove, the scene was very affecting. The house was thronged full, and when some of those without were about to go away, they found that part of their families were in the house, and some of them lying in distress, unable to remove. Some went away, but the greater part remained. The work became more powerful than before, and numbers who had prepared to go were constrained to stay. The exercises continued throughout the whole night. Many of the young people were remarkably exercised, and frequently addressed others about the perishing condition they were in—the glories of the Saviour—the excellency and suitableness of the plan of salvation—and warned, invited, and pressed sinners to come to Christ;

Joseph Patterson

all in a manner quite astonishing for their years. About sunrise the people dispersed.

An appointment was made for the administration of the Lord's Supper again, on the second Sabbath in November, at Upper Buffalo, the charge of the Rev. John Anderson. On Saturday preceding the communion, a greater concourse of people than had ever been seen before at a meeting for divine worship in this country, assembled, and formed an encampment in a semi-circle around the front of the tent, in a shady wood. Many had brought wagons, with their families and provisions, with a great number of tents. It seems to have been a regular *camp meeting*, such as had already begun to be held in the South. But these camp meetings grew out of the necessities of the case, there being otherwise no possibility of providing accommodations for the multitudes which assembled. On this occasion fifteen ministers were present, all members of the Synod of Pittsburgh, and all taking part in the various exercises. The administration of the word and ordinances was accompanied with an extraordinary effusion of divine influences on the hearts of the hearers. Some hundreds were, during the season, convicted of their sin and misery. Preaching, exhortations, prayers, and praises were continued alternately throughout the night in the meeting-house, which was full, and part of the night at the tent. On Sabbath, after two "action sermons" (as they were called) had been preached, one in the house and the other at the tent, the Lord's Supper was administered at the tent to about nine hundred and sixty communicants. The multitudes of non-communicants were addressed at the same time, part in the house, and part in an adjacent grove, by several ministers.

It was on this occasion that Macurdy preached, without preparation, his famous "War Sermon," of which I received an account from his own lips. The circumstances have often been described by others, and I need only confirm their statements, especially that given by Dr. Elliot. Macurdy undertook the duty at McMillan's request. He ascended a wagon, in the midst of the crowd, with fear and trembling, not knowing what to say. He gave out a hymn and offered a short prayer. He then opened the Bible, and his eye fell upon the second Psalm, "Why do the heathen rage," etc. The idea of insurrection and amnesty occurred to him. The

people were all familiar with these ideas from the recent experiences of the "Whiskey Insurrection," and the terms of amnesty offered by the Government. He startled them by announcing that he was about to preach on politics—that he had just received a letter from the Government that an insurrection had taken place, that measures had been taken to suppress the rebellion, and that an amnesty had been proclaimed to all who would return to their duty; that some of the rebels were there present, and he would now read them the letter. He then read the second Psalm, and proceeded to apply it to the condition of sinners as rebels against the government of God, and to announce the terms of amnesty offered them in Christ. "Kiss ye the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish," etc. The spirit gave him utterance, and a powerful impression was produced. Many fell prostrate to the ground, crying out in anguish that they had been insurgents against God. "The scene," said the Rev. Thomas Hunt, who was in the wagon with him, "appeared to me like the close of a battle in which every tenth man had been fatally wounded." Many of these prostrate ones soon became reconciled, and found peace with God.

On Monday the whole assembly was addressed by one speaker from the tent. They were composed, solemn, and attentive during the time of public worship; but after the blessing was pronounced, many were struck down in all parts of the congregation, and many more sat still, silently weeping over their miserable state as sinners exposed to eternal wrath. Many of God's dear children were filled with peace in believing. The exercises were continued until after sunrise on Tuesday morning, when the assembly was solemnly dismissed, and began with apparent reluctance to prepare to disperse. After some time the most removed, except the people of the congregation, who still tarried, lingering at the place where so much of God's power had been manifested to their eyes and in their consciences. Numbers who had gone home to provide refreshments for their friends returned. Still they could not part. All again collected in the meeting-house, where this day also was spent till evening, in preaching, exhortation, and prayer. The exercise was very powerful, and numbers were affected who appeared to be unmoved before.

Thus did this wonderful work continue to prevail and extend.

Meetings were held in the various churches thrughout this region. These were crowded with people from all the country around, to the distance of nearly a hundred miles. From the time of the administration of the Lord's Supper at Three Springs, in September, 1802, the work continued to extend for several months. Nearly all the churches west of the mountains were visited with less or more of these divine influences, and although the number of professed conversions was not so great in proportion as in some modern revivals, the impressions made were more deep and lasting, and the fruits continued to be gathered in at successive communion seasons for years to come. Our fathers made more of what they called the "law work" than many do now. Their great labor was to bring sinners to feel that they were *lost*, and they were not in haste to bring them up from these depths, believing that He who came to seek and save the lost would not leave them to perish in the deep waters. And yet they did not fail always to point them to Christ as the great deliverer. They were, however, less anxious to count numbers than to save souls. And the permanent good fruits of these revivals attest the wisdom of those who labored in them.

In the condensed account which I have thus given of the great revival of 1802–3, no particular notice has been taken of one of its remarkable peculiarities, which in the parlance of our fathers, gave name to it as the "falling work."

Our history would not be complete without some account of this singular feature of the work, which, though a frequent accompaniment, was really no essential part of the work itself. That the body should be affected by any strong mental emotion, was nothing new or strange. That religious emotion, especially such as is awakened by a vivid apprehension of the great veritics of the Christian faith, should express itself in irrepressible outcries, and even in fainting and swooning away, was only what had often been witnessed before in seasons of revival. It was so in the great revival of Cambuslang, in Scotland, in 1742, and in the simultaneous work of grace in New Jersey and elsewhere under the labors of Whitefield and the Tennents. In Whitefield's account of this latter work, although at first he looked upon it with suspicion—saying of it "Satan begins to cast some into fits,"—yet afterwards, when he had seen how the Spirit of God was working on the hearts of many of its subjects, he speaks of the

"amazing manifestations of distress" without disapprobation. Of the work at Fagg's Manor he says, "Some were struck as pale as death, others lying on the ground, others wringing their hands, others sinking into the arms of friends," etc.; while of himself on one of these occasions, he says: "After I had finished my last discourse, I was so overpowered with a sense of God's love, that it almost took away my life."

The traditions of this work at Fagg's Manor were yet fresh when McMillan was a student there, and the great work in Kentucky and North Carolina was still in progress when the revival of 1802–3 commenced here. There the "bodily exercises" were much more marked than elsewhere, and ultimately assumed the form of jerking, jumping, barking, etc., not unlike the extravagances of the Middle Ages in Europe. Both history and physiology prove that such excitements are epidemical; and it is not surprising that, along with the intelligence that reached our fathers respecting the great work of grace in the West and South, and which was one of the means of kindling up the spirit of revival among them, the reports of these strange bodily accompaniments of the work should have awakened an expectation of something similar here; and the expectation itself, according to the laws of mental physiology, was enough to induce the effects anticipated. These physical laws were not then well understood, and there has always been a disposition among men to think that "the Kingdom of God cometh with observation." Bodily affections, such as crying out, swooning, etc., are taken as evidence of the work of the Holy Spirit, although there is no necessary connection between them; and the excitement produced by these outward manifestations, no doubt, has served to arrest attention and thus to prepare the minds of many to be impressed by divine truth who might otherwise have remained unaffected.

At an early stage of the great revival here, these bodily exercises began to show themselves. "It was no unusual thing," says McMillan, "to see persons so entirely deprived of bodily strength that they would fall from their seats or off their feet, and be as unable to help themselves as a new-born child." Dr. Anderson says, "There was, in some cases gradually, and in others instantly, a total loss of bodily strength, so that they fell to the ground, like Saul of Tarsus, and with oppression of the heart and lungs, with suspension of

breath, with sobs and loud cries." The subjects of these affections retained the use of their faculties, even during the paroxysms, in full vigor. They had a clear perception of all that was said and done around them, even while they lay apparently in a state of suspended animation. Their mental exercises were generally highly intensive. Their convictions of guilt and danger were, for the most part, very pungent, causing them to utter agonizing cries for mercy. And when they obtained deliverance through Christ, they were often filled with love, admiration, and joy. Robert Johnston, who saw much of the work as it appeared in his own congregation of Scrubgrass, says, "I have seen men and women in solemn attitude, pondering the truths which were presented, fall in a moment from their seats, or off their feet, as helpless as though they had been shot, and lie from ten to fifteen or twenty minutes, or longer, as motionless as a person in a sound sleep. At other times the whole frame would be thrown into a state of agitation, as, seemingly, to endanger the safety of the subject; and yet, in a moment this agitation would cease, and the persons arise in the full possession of all their bodily powers, and take their seats, composed and solemn, without the least sensation of pain or uneasiness." "Nor was there that kind of uniformity in the occurrence of these different effects on the body, as to allow them to be ascribed to corresponding exercises of the mind. Some have been agitated in body under pleasing exercises of the mind, and others have lain motionless under the anguish of a wounded spirit. Some were under deep and pungent convictions for weeks before they felt any effects on the body, while some passed through the whole course of awakening and conviction, and became hopefully pious, who never felt any symptoms of bodily agitation." Professors of religion were also as likely to be affected as others. Persons who had long been members of the church, and even ministers, in some instances, were similarly affected. The falling took place, likewise, on all occasions, most generally, however, at the public meetings. Yet instances occurred at family prayer, in solitude, and even in merry company, or during the prosecution of ordinary business.

It was not the character of the preaching that induced these effects. The Rev. George M. Scott, of Mill Creek, says, "When the bodily exercise first appeared, I considered the whole to be a

delusion. I supposed these excitements were produced by preachers thundering the terrors of the law; and I thought I could check it by preaching the invitations of the Gospel, and the way of salvation through Christ; but I soon found that instead of stopping the work, this kind of preaching only increased it." But while the bodily affection seems to have been involuntary and uncontrollable, the outcries and moanings which sometimes accompanied it, could be suppressed. Thus Mr. Johnston, in his account, further says that, at an early period of the work in his church, he urged his people to guard against any disorder of this kind. This had the desired effect. "I have preached," he says, "to a crowded assembly, when more than half the people were lying helpless before me, during a greater part of the service, without the least noise or disturbance of any kind." Some of the members of the Synod of Erie, now present, may remember a statement which was made in a religious conference at our meeting in Greenville, in 1872, by a venerable elder, 'Father Stinson,' who, among other reminiscences of those early days, said, that during the prevalence of the celebrated falling work, four young men determined to go one evening to the place of meeting, and to show that they could not be influenced by the prevailing excitement. They rode boldly up and entered the meeting. They listened quietly to the solemn sermon, and witnessed the falling of some in the assembly. After a while they rode away together, but had not gone far until one of them cried out, "O, I am ruining my soul!" The others all responded with the same feeling, and they went back to the meeting, yielded to its influences, and all became Christian men, and two of them ministers of the Gospel. These notices may suffice to give some idea of the character of the work. (See Appendix B.)

When it first appeared our fathers knew not how to treat it. They saw that generally a work of the Holy Spirit was connected with it, and they were afraid to give a wrong touch to the ark. As Macurdy says, "There it was, and we could do nothing with it." They warned the people, however, against supposing it to be any sign of grace; and in their wisdom they held a firm check upon the tendency to such tumultuous excitements and extravagances as were witnessed in Kentucky. Some good people, especially among our Seceder brethren, thought it a work of the devil; and, as in duty

bound, preached and wrote against it. In reply, Dr. Ralston's vigorous pamphlet, commonly known as "The Currycomb," was called forth.

As to the *causes* of these bodily exercises we are perhaps more favorably situated for forming a correct judgment than those who witnessed them. These phenomena then bordered on the marvellous, and the religious experience of very many of the subjects was so unquestionably genuine that many were disposed to regard both the outward and inward parts of the work as alike from the Holy Spirit. The calmer judgment, however, of those who have since investigated the subject in the light of history, and of better scientific acquaintance with the laws of the animal economy, and of the reciprocal influence of the mind and the nervous system, has led all judicious men to the conclusion that these bodily exercises were altogether the result of natural causes, and were only an incidental accompaniment of a true work of grace wrought by the Holy Spirit.

Such are the opinions expressed by the venerable Dr. Baxter, of Virginia, who witnessed much of the work; also by Dr. Archibald Alexander, Dr. Charles Hodge, Dr. Joseph H. Jones, and many others, including physicians and physiologists, who were competent and impartial judges of such matters. We have not time to quote their testimonies.*

* Dr. Baxter, in a letter originally published in the *Watchman of the South*, and copied into the *Presbyterian Advocate* of March 11, 1840, repeatedly speaks of these exercises as a "disease," and one that "seemed to be conveyed by a mysterious infection." Of the work as he saw it in Kentucky and in the valley of Virginia, he says that "in a great variety of cases the exercise was convulsive and turbulent in a high degree; and although this exercise was unfavorable to composed thoughtfulness at the time, yet when the paroxysm had subsided, the reason, intelligence, or health of the subject did not appear to be at all impaired." He says further, "At the time of which I am speaking, although some of the subjects of the exercise were serious people, yet a large proportion of its subjects showed no religious feelings at all." And he gives an instance where "the people had met for a common frolic, and when the music and dancing began, the jerking exercise also broke out amongst them and produced the greatest alarm. The company dispersed with very little ceremony.'

On another occasion, "two men at the court-house had quarrelled and fought, and in the midst of the scuffle one of them was taken with the jerks, which soon parted the combatants." Again he says, "I was one

As to the character of the ministry of those days, whose labors God so greatly blessed, much has been written, and we shall learn

day traveling with an old acquaintance who had been for some time subject to this exercise. He was a moral man, but not a professor of religion. The disease came upon him whilst on the road; he threw himself from his horse, rolled and tossed on the ground for some minutes, and then arose in full health and vigor, and we pursued our journey."

Dr. Archibald Alexander, in his work on "Religious Experience," says, "In those remarkable bodily affections, called the jerks, which appeared some years ago in religious meetings, the nervous irregularity was commonly produced by the sight of other persons thus affected; and if in some instances, without the sight, yet by having the imagination strongly impressed by hearing of such things. It is a fact, as undoubted as it is remarkable, that as this bodily affection assumed a great variety of appearances in different places, nothing was more common than for a new species of the *exercise*, as it was called, to be imported from another part of the country, by one or a few individuals. This contagion of nervous excitement is not unparalleled," etc.

Dr. Joseph H. Jones, in his work on "Man, Moral and Physical," attributes these bodily exercises to the influence of "morbid imitative sympathy, and of imagination on the nervous system. He says, "They were occasioned doubtless, in part, by an undue excitement of the animal feelings." "One remarkable feature of these bodily affections, was, that the very apprehension of an attack would often bring it on, in spite of all precautions or efforts of the will to prevent it"—of which he adduces some remarkable examples from Davidson's "History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky." His discussion of the whole subject is quite exhaustive.

Dr. Charles Hodge, in his "Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church," says, "Though Edwards [Jonathan] never regarded these outcries and bodily affections as any evidence of true religious affections, he was at this time much less sensible of the danger of encouraging such manifestations of excitement than he afterwards became. Nor does he seem to have been sufficiently aware of the nature and effects of nervous disorders, which in times of excitement are as *infectious* as any form of *disease* to which the human system is liable;" "That such bodily affections owe their origin, not to any divine influence, but to natural causes, may be inferred from the fact that these latter are adequate to their production;" and that "they have prevailed in all ages, among pagans, papists, and every sect of fanatics"—"all propagating themselves by a kind of infection."

An able article, by an intelligent Christian physician, who witnessed the phenomena for himself, in the Biblical Repertory for 1834, throws much light on the subject.

Dr. Carpenter, in his recent work on "Mental Physiology," also learnedly discusses the nature of such bodily affections.

much that is profitable from the sketches which are to be read on this occasion. We are not so well acquainted with the *lay helpers* —both men and women—who afforded such important aid to these men by their exemplary piety, their active co-operation, and their earnest prayers. Let us look at a few of these.

As specimens of the *eldership* in those early churches, the name of PHILIP JACKSON, Macurdy's "praying elder," is perhaps best known. We find a sketch of him in Elliott's "Life of Macurdy," which is too long to quote, showing him to have been one of the earliest settlers in the bounds of the Cross Roads (now Florence) congregation; converted under the preaching of the Rev. Joseph Smith; made an elder in 1786; with little education, but of strong common sense, and great energy of character; the right-hand man and bosom friend of his pastor, Elisha Macurdy; a man abounding in prayer, always ready to speak to men about their souls, often retiring with his pastor to the woods to pray—once for the conversion of his own son (a prayer that was heard), but mostly to wrestle with God for the revival of his work. When his pastor suggests, at a prayer meeting, the propriety of a special concert of secret prayer on Thursday evenings, Philip starts up and says, "Take the vote! take the vote!" And, on another occasion, he is honest enough to pray in the presence of his pastor, who had recently asked a weak brother to preach, that the Lord would keep the pastor from the sin of inviting ministers to preach, merely out of compliment to them. Once he accompanied Mr. Macurdy in one of the missionary tours on which he had been sent to the destitute settlements up along the lake shore; and besides other assistance in the work of organizing churches, he was greatly instrumental in bringing into the church their kind hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Judah Colt, with whom he sat up most of a night, talking with them about the state of their souls. Mr. Colt erected his family altar (on which the daily offerings were kept up by his wife in his absence), and has left a fragrant memory behind him as a liberal patron of the church's enterprises, and one of the earliest and most munificent benefactors of our own Theological Seminary. This tribute we owe to Philip Jackson.

JUDGE JAMES EDGAR is another type of elder belonging to the church of Cross Creek. In 1779, he drew up a call for the minis-

terial labors of the Rev. Joseph Smith, from the united congregations of Buffalo and Cross Creek, which is a model document, very different from the stereotyped form now in use. His name is most familiarly known in connection with the Whiskey Insurrection, which he earnestly opposed. Judge Brackenridge says of him, though not appreciatingly, "His head was prematurely hoary with prayer and fasting and religious exercises, his face thin and puritanical like the old Republicans in the Long Parliament of England. He was a man of sense and not destitute of eloquence." Dr. Carnahan says, "This truly great and good man, little known beyond the precincts of Washington county, had removed to Western Pennsylvania at an early day. He had a good English education, and had improved his mind by reading and reflection, so that, in theological and political knowledge he was superior to many professional men. Yet he lived in retirement on his farm, except when the voice of his neighbors called him forth to serve the Church or the State. He was one of the associate judges of Washington county. I heard him, on Monday after a sacramental occasion, address an assembly of two thousand people, on the subject of the insurrection, with a clearness of argument, a solemnity of manner, and a tenderness of Christian eloquence, which reached the understanding and penetrated the heart of every hearer. The consequence was that very few in his neighborhood were concerned in these lawless riots."

Still another of those elders, "who through faith obtained a good report," was "FATHER" ROBERT CAMPBELL, of the church of Donegal, now in the Presbytery of Blairsville. He loved communion seasons, and besides attending those of his own church, with all the accompanying exercises of four or five days, he was found at the communions of neighboring churches, even when, as he once said, "in order to do so, he had to fight the devil and a buckwheat field ready to be harvested, and at last only gained the victory by running away from both." Before the pastor's arrival on such occasions, he would not allow the people either inside or outside of the house to be unemployed. He would sing or pray, or call on some one else to do so, generally dropping a weighty thought, pungent remark, or brief exhortation. He seldom spoke five sentences at a time. His very soul would sing. He had no

stereotyped prayer, but talked familiarly though reverently to God, as a child pleading with a father. In imitation of his Master, he went about doing good. Rarely could he afford to lodge with Christians, if godless families lived near. These he went to visit, and with them read the Bible, talk and pray. If he lodged with professors, his aim would be to provoke them to love and good works. (See Appendix C.)

Another honored name among the eldership is that of JOHN LOWRIE, father of the Hon. Walter Lowrie, formerly Secretary of our Board of Foreign Missions. He was born in the parish of Lockhutton, near Dumfries, Scotland, and was a member of the church in that parish, as early as 1764. He came to America in 1793, and settled on a farm in Huntingdon county, Pennsylvania. In 1802, the year of the great revival, he removed to Butler county, where he and his wife, his son Matthew B., and others of his children, were members of the church of Scrubgrass—he being a ruling elder. He was a model elder, and was a most efficient helper of his pastor, the Rev. Robert Johnston, in the great work of grace which that church enjoyed. He is said to have been a "host in himself in the church," although it is to be regretted that the details of his life have not been recorded. One circumstance is mentioned as showing his firmness in standing by his religious convictions. As a juror, he was in a case which the judge wished to end on the Sabbath; but the old gentleman refused to come into court on that day, and the case had to wait until Monday, much to the judge's vexation. His later years were spent in peace, chiefly occupied with the reading of the Scriptures and missionary intelligence. As to the honor due to his memory, it is enough that he was the progenitor of so many worthy and distinguished sons of the Presbyterian Church.

Perhaps I may be excused for alluding also to another illustrative example of the piety of those times, in a kinsman of my own—"FATHER" EBENEZER COE. He was a soldier of the Revolution, and in his old age made his home mostly in my father's house. Among my earliest and most impressive recollections, is that of having seen this good old man retiring two or three times a day to the garret of the house, where he spent some time alone. And when my childish curiosity was awakened to know the cause, I learned a lesson which

I ought to have profited by more than I have, when told that he had gone there to pray. At other hours his Bible was his constant companion.

Such were some of the men whom our fathers in the ministry had for their co-laborers in the Lord's work. They were not the sort of men to be driven by the winds of a transient enthusiasm, or to mistake an artificial excitement for a genuine revival of religion. (See Appendix D.)

Nor ought we to omit a passing notice of the *women* of those days, many of whom were mothers in Israel indeed, and such as Paul commends as his helpers, and who labored much with him in the Lord. And just here I may further claim indulgence for mentioning a fact which I have learned respecting a sister of the man last named. She was as patriotic in her way as her brother, but she served her country at home by doing what she could for the suffering soldiers in the field. Especially did she pray for them in the closet. On one occasion, in the very darkest period of our country's struggle against the mighty power of Britain, when men's hearts were failing them for fear, it is said that this woman spent the whole night in the house top, wrestling in prayer for her country's deliverance; and when she came down in the morning, she exclaimed, with a smiling countenance, "Never fear, the Americans will yet surely prevail." She felt that God had heard her prayer.

Another instance, illustrative of this confidence in the power of prayer, is that of an old lady, whose name is not given, who, when the Rev. Jos. Smith, before his removal to the West, was lying apparently at the point of death, and his friend James Edgar (whom we have already mentioned) came to inquire about him—after special prayer had been offered for him at a prayer meeting—replied that Mr. Smith was worse; "but," said she (when she saw that Mr. Edgar's heart sank within him), "he will not die, for the Lord hath told me to-day that He would raise him up and send him out to the West to preach the Gospel." This she spoke with great confidence, and while Mr. Edgar was sitting by the bedside of the sick man, the favorable crisis of the disease came, he soon recovered, and was able to follow his friend to their new home in the West, in answer to the call that had been made out for him.

And here, I shall venture another well authenticated instance of

a similar kind, in the wife of that layman of Fort Vance, who afterwards became the Rev. Joseph Patterson. When, after having gone through a course of study for the ministry, he was about leaving home to attend the meeting of Presbytery, at which he expected to be licensed, he asked his wife to pray for him, particularly at the hour of noon on the following Thursday, at which time he expected to be delivering his trial sermon. Contrary, however, to his expectations, he was called to preach at the same hour on the preceding day; and when he returned home after the adjournment of Presbytery, Mrs. P. said to him, "I think you did not deliver your sermon on Thursday, as you expected." "When did I then?" he inquired. "I think," she seriously replied, "from the impressions made on my mind, that it was at twelve o'clock on Wednesday." This fact is given on the authority of Dr. Elisha P. Swift, who received it from the lips of Father Patterson himself. There were many such "prayer tests" in those days, before Tyndall was born.

Another godly woman was the wife of the Rev. Joseph Smith, who, after having been for more than twenty years a most efficient helpmate to her husband, after his death made her home in the family of her brother-in-law, the Rev. James Hughes. Being without any particular charge or incumbrance, she spent a great part of her time among the poor, the afflicted, and those who were concerned about the state of their souls. A steady member of female praying societies, she did much to unite Christian women of different denominations in these societies, one of which she attended weekly until a few days before her death, when she was too weak to walk. She passed from earth in her seventy-eighth year, while the family were engaged in their morning devotions, and were singing the hymn beginning,

"Ye fleeting charms of earth, farewell,
Your springs of joy are dry;
My soul now seeks another home,
A brighter world on high."

Again, as illustrative of the influence of the pious women of those days in promoting the great revival, we find in the Life of Macurdy this statement: That during the summer of 1802, just preceding the commencement of the revival, a few of the devout women of

the congregation met at the house of Mr. Macurdy and formed themselves into a praying circle, with the special object of praying for a revival of religion. In the midst of the discouragements which then surrounded him, he felt deeply interested in this movement. During their first meeting at his house, he took his axe, and retiring to a grove near by, cut down some boughs from the trees, of which he formed a booth. Then, within that secluded arbor, while these pious women were praying in the house, he knelt in earnest supplication to the God of Lydia, and invoked his blessing upon them and their object. His heart was full. It was an hour of conflict; on one side half a dozen timid women; on the other, the legions of the Prince of Darkness. It was at this time that the passage in Isaiah xxxv. 4—"Say to them that are of a fearful heart, be strong," &c., was forcibly impressed upon his mind, and became the foundation of a discourse so powerful that McMillan, who was not given to flattery, said to him, after hearing it, "It was not you that preached to-day, but God." How much the women's prayers had to do with the choice of that text, and the growth of that sermon in his mind, it is not for us to say.

I shall give but one more instance, showing what stuff the women of those days were made of. It is that of the wife of Judge McDowell, the elder at whose house McMillan lodged on his first visit to the West, in 1775. Mrs. McD., like many other women of that day, was accustomed to keep up family worship in her husband's absence. On one occasion two prominent lawyers from Washington (who might be named) came in the evening to visit the Judge on business. His wife informed them that he was absent, but he would be home in the morning, at the same time inviting them to her hospitality, which they accepted. These gentlemen were both known as open sceptics. The hour for family worship having arrived, there came a trial of her faith and courage. Her conscience would not permit her to omit the usual service, nor to invite them to retire before it was attended to. She called her family together as usual, explained to her guests the uniform custom of the household, and proceeded to read the Scriptures, sing a psalm, and to bow in prayer in the presence of men who, though not used to bow before God, were constrained to kneel at this domestic altar, with this brave woman officiating as priestess. It is said of one of these

men that from this impressive occasion he dated an entire change in his views on the subject of religion.

These instances may suffice in the way of examples of the lay piety of those days. And there were, no doubt, many others of like spirit, whose names have not been chronicled on earth, but are written in heaven. It is no wonder that with such ministers and preaching, and with such fathers and mothers in Israel as helpers in the work, the Lord glorified himself in doing great things for Zion in those early years. The choice seed which was then sown in this virgin soil has continued to bear fruit ever since. And this plantation of grace spread itself far and wide over the regions west; so that the four Synods which are here represented, not to speak of others, were largely planted by those who were the sons and daughters of these revival workers. Hence it is that this region of the church has been well denominated the *back-bone* of our American Presbyterianism. We have reason to be proud of our spiritual ancestry; and yet humbled that we are not as worthy of this ancestry as we might be, while at the same time we may be thankful that we have not wholly forgotten the faith of our fathers.

Among the lessons which we may learn from this survey are such as these:

1. That we need a revival of *family religion* such as was maintained in the households of those fathers. They "commanded their children, and their households after them, that they should keep the way of the Lord," etc. These parents deserved the reverence which they demanded from their sons and daughters. It was a matter of course that such mothers should keep up the worship of the household in the absence of the fathers. Family religion was not then a secondary matter. They had, it is true, no church Sunday-schools; but they had what was better—so far as the children of the pious were concerned—a Sabbath-school in every family on the evening of the day, after returning from public worship, when the Catechism was studied and recited, and other religious instruction given. Thus they spent the "whole day," and not merely a part of it, in the public and private exercises of God's worship. And I can testify for one, that such Sabbaths were not gloomy and hateful, though impressively solemn. Some, it may be, were pharisaically austere; but better even this, a thousandfold, than a holiday Sunday after-

noon, which shall obliterate all the good impressions of the morning, and leave no time or disposition for family instruction. Woe to the church and woe to the land, when our old Puritan and Scotch-Irish holy Sabbaths (which are the true Scripture Sabbaths) shall be superseded by continental holidays. The new *Hopkinsianism* is an exotic in this region, and we trust it may ever find here a soil uncongenial to so mischievous a growth.

2. That God is ever *waiting* to bestow blessings upon a *waiting* people. Iniquity abounded—ministers and people felt their need—they sought the Lord secretly, socially, and by special concert. They heard "the sound of a going," etc., and they bestirred themselves—they looked for the spreading of the little cloud until the Lord poured down upon them abundance of rain. Shall it not be so with us in these days?

3. They remembered the *heathen* and the *waste places* (as we shall see more fully in a subsequent discourse), and they gave liberally according to their means—thus bringing their tithes into the storehouse, and proving the Lord therewith. Shall we not also learn to practice more self-denial and beneficence for Christ's sake? Shall we not endeavor to bring every member in each of our churches (the weak as well as the strong) to give systematically to all our benevolent enterprises—thus coming up to the help of the Lord, by replenishing all the empty treasuries of the Boards, and thus see if God will not pour us out a blessing.

4. We want more of such *lay helpers*, male and female, as they had in those days. What a vast storehouse of undeveloped power have we in our churches, especially in the eldership and in our Christian women? The latter are nobly waking up to the duty and privilege of "woman's work for woman," both at home and abroad. Let all thus awake. And the eldership also, is there not beginning to be a shaking among many who have been as dry bones? What mean these conferences of elders at the meetings of the General Assembly, and these conventions of elders in divers places to inquire into the nature and duties of their office? If the eldership in all our churches were waked up to the duty of working, and setting others to work, in Sabbath-schools, prayer-meetings, exhorting, visiting families, and inquiring into the state of family religion, catechetical instruction, Christian giving, etc.—being themselves ex-

amples to the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers—then would the power of the church be increased tenfold; and there would be no need of lay evangelists, male and female, to supplement (if not usurp) the office of the ministry. Our church machinery is complete, and if it were in proper working order, and the impulsive power of the Holy Ghost applied to it, no other evangelistic agencies would be needed.

5. All this implies and presupposes that the *ministry* be competent, holy, and faithful; that we preach such unadulterated and undiluted truth as those old fathers preached, and as we may find it in the few published sermons of McMillan and Porter; that we be "men of Issachar, having an understanding of the times, that we may know what Israel ought to do;" that we be up to the spirit of the times, and instinct with the Spirit of the Lord; that we preach, not science or politics, but Jesus Christ and him crucified; that we believe, and therefore speak; knowing in whom we have ourselves believed; having no other aim than to glorify our Master in the salvation of souls; for whom we travail in birth until Christ be formed within them.

O brethren! shall we not seek a new consecration—a fresh baptism? And may we not expect that this holy convocation in which we are now met, like those of former years, shall be followed by special visitations on all our churches and throughout the land? We are now about to enter upon the last quarter of this eventful century, and upon a new year, and a new centennium of our Western Presbyterianism. Providence and prophecy point to greater struggles and greater triumphs than our forefathers witnessed. The Lord is at hand! Our time of work will soon be ended! Let us understand our high responsibilities, and standing firm on the vantage-ground of opportunity which the Lord has given us, let us occupy till He come!

NOTE.—In the foregoing sketches of the early revivals, the writer has generally quoted the very language of the current authorities, sometimes slightly abridged or modified, but often without the use of quotation marks or the mention of names.

THE EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

OF

PRESBYTERIANISM

IN

WESTERN PENN'A AND ADJACENT REGIONS.

AN ADDRESS

Delivered at the Centennial Convention, held in the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, December 7th, 8th, and 9th, 1875.

BY

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EDUCATIONAL HISTORY.

PRESBYTERIANISM has a very distinctive character. Its first principle is unqualified subjection to the word of God, in contrast alike with rationalism and churchly authority. Divine supremacy in all things, but especially those of the human soul, is one of its fundamental doctrines; yet that very supremacy includes man's agency and responsibility, as concerning this life and the world to come. In its polity, this system is not a mere voluntary society; nor yet a hierarchy, competent to suspend private judgment or to enact laws which Christ has not given. It is rather a commonwealth, whose divine Lord only is "Master," having received "all power in heaven and in earth," and whose rulers and members are all "brethren." Such a conception admits offices of instruction and administration, of divine appointment, for the maintenance of truth and order. But they come under the only sanction and limitations of God's will, with no rival rule of caprice or unauthorized expediency. Equality of birthright, liberty within Scriptural sanction, express or fairly deduced, and a rule of faith and practice revealed from heaven—these are its blood-bought rights, never to be yielded for any "yoke of bondage." "God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are in anything contrary to his word or beside it in matters of faith and worship."—[Confession of Faith.]

In such a system, however it may be with others, the education both of the ministry and the people is not an incident, but a funda-

mental necessity. The ministry under a responsibility, whereof an open Bible is the continual test, must be able, both by culture and the enlightenment of the Spirit, to discover the truth of God and to distinguish it from "the commandments of men." The people, having a right as clearly assured, must be ready, like the noble Bereans, to "receive the word with all readiness of mind," and to "search the Scriptures daily whether these things are so." And both, having their minds "sanctified by the word of God and prayer," are then ready truly to "judge all things" and yet be "judged of no man." This is the real logic of relations, and whether in this case it has or has not been fulfilled in history, let impartial Europe and America decide.

The track of the great Reformation of the sixteenth century is not more clearly marked in the countries of its prevalence by the rescue of the word of God from its dark covering of ceremony and superstition, than also by the establishment of seminaries and schools. "We boast of our common schools," says our great historian, Bancroft, "but Calvin was the father of popular education, the inventor of the system of free schools." Impartial judges do not fail to trace much of the glory of New England's early enterprise and great advancement in both general and special education to the leaven of Presbyterianism, so strongly diffused through its early and controlling Puritanism. But still more unmistakable is this influence, pure and unmixed, as it came hither from Scotland, Ireland, and Holland, transferring to our shores the progress and spirit of their institutions in the persons of their educated and godly ministers and other instructors. Its memorials we may find in such colleges as Princeton in New Jersey, Hampden-Sidney and Washington in Virginia, Davidson in North Carolina, Dickinson, as it was, in Eastern, and our own Jefferson and Washington in Western Pennsylvania, besides others, especially westward and southward, which have grown out of them, or have sprung from the same seed.

By far the largest proportion of the first white settlers of Western Pennsylvania were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. That people had been disciplined, first in Scotland and then in Ulster, by long and severe contest for civil and religious liberty, into the "hardness" of "good soldiers of Jesus Christ." It was no wonder that, at length, under the rule of intolerant prelacy, they were ready to make common

cause with the Huguenots in the settlement of the Carolinas, and with the Dutch in that of New York and New Jersey, but especially to plant themselves amidst the forests of Pennsylvania, in the region now covered by Chester, Lancaster, and York counties, under her first and blessed banner of religious toleration, and in Cecil county, Maryland. As they surpassed all other people in the courage and endurance requisite for border warfare, so they were pushed forward to occupy the lands west of the Susquehanna to the Blue Ridge, even in advance of the extinguishment of Indian titles in 1736 by the proprietary government, as well as westward still under like extinguishments in 1754 and 1768. Even the royalty and high church-ism of the cavaliers consented to their occupation of the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah under legal sanction, finding compensation for the endurance of a hated faith, in such a breastwork of defence against savage butchery. From that Virginia valley came a large proportion of the population, as well as of the religious efforts and supervision, which established the church and its institutions in the territory represented in this Convention. A chief reason for this fact is to be found in the claim of Virginia to what is now the southwestern portion of Pennsylvania, prior to the extension of Mason's and Dixon's line in 1784, which settled the long and fierce dispute.

When the four honored fathers of the Redstone Presbytery organized that body in 1781, the population west of the Alleghenies was small and scattered. Only twenty-nine years before had the first white settlement been made by Gist and the eleven families he had gathered, at Mount Braddock, in what is now Fayette county. The best English authority reports the whole population at about four thousand, when General Stanwix, the successor of the lamented Forbes, erected Fort Pitt in 1760, only fifteen years before John McMillan and his associates took possession of this soil in the name of Christ. The census of 1790, fifteen years after their coming, found only about fifty thousand people in the western counties, or less than one-twentieth of the present number. Taking the poverty of the people, and the absence of facilities for travel, transportation, and business into the account, the disparity of condition is increased an hundredfold. And yet the same rude cabins and forests which encompassed assemblies of devout worshipers on the Lord's day, furnished, to an extent most noteworthy in history, not only secular

instruction, but classical and scientific learning. It was an essential part of their inheritance brought from the old country, and cherished under the culture of the Blairs and Smiths in their Eastern Pennsylvania homes.

It would be as unprofitable as it would be unjust to the memories of James Power, John McMillan, Thaddeus Dodd, and Joseph Smith, to make invidious comparisons of their *educational*, any more than their ministerial work. They were all valued sons of the College of New Jersey, and devoted friends both of scholarship and religion. With one mind they co-operated in the promotion of sound learning. The elevation of society furnished a general motive, whilst the demand for a competent supply of ministers of the Gospel, was nothing short of a necessity. And neither history nor tradition has transmitted a whisper of jealousy between them. "From the outset," says Doddridge in his "Notes," "they prudently resolved to create a ministry in the country, and accordingly established little grammar schools at their own houses, or in their immediate neighborhoods." In the absence of positive evidence, it is to be presumed that Dr. James Power, whose first visit, in 1774, was followed in 1779 by his permanent settlement as pastor of the churches of Mount-pleasant and Sewickley, in Westmoreland county, was a promoter of liberal education, especially in view of his known fidelity in the catechetical instruction of his own people. His literary character, at least, may be inferred from the fact that he was one of the first two recipients of the title of D.D. from Jefferson College, in 1808. In the cases of the other three first members of the mother Presbytery, all of whom labored in Washington county, there is no room for doubt, each having established a school for training in the higher branches of learning. The question of priority has enlisted much zeal among the friends as well as descendants of these venerable men, but as yet without any definite settlement. Limit of space, as well as propriety itself, will restrain us on this occasion from entering that field with the hope of any satisfactory result. A brief statement of the case must suffice.

It is certain that the Rev. Thaddeus Dodd erected a building on his own farm, and opened in it a classical and mathematical school in 1782, three years after his settlement as Pastor of Ten-Mile, and just as many years before his congregation erected a house of worship.

That academy continued in operation three years and a half, until the sale of the farm led to its suspension. It numbered among its pupils James Hughes, John Brice, Daniel Lindly, Robert Marshall, John Hanna, and David Smith, the first fruits of a large native ministry, gathered in the western church. The suspension of Mr. Dodd's academy transferred Messrs. Hughes, Brice, and probably others, to the school opened in the "study" at Buffalo, in 1785, by the Rev. Joseph Smith, where they were joined by Joseph Patterson, James McGready, Samuel Porter, and others of like purpose. That school, claimed by the author of "Old Redstone," the grandson of Mr. Smith, to be "the first school opened with *exclusive* reference to the training of young men for the ministry," was successful for a few years, until the failing health of Mr. Smith compelled its abandonment, and then most of its students passed into the "Log Cabin" school of Dr. John McMillan, at Chartiers.

The date of the establishment of Dr. McMillan's academy is the central question of the debate already referred to. It is likely to remain an open question; but settle it as we may, his fame will abide as the conservative, thoughtful, resolute, and far-seeing leader of his brethren in the educational, as well as ecclesiastical work of the church. On the one hand, it is urged that although Dr. McMillan must have given occasional and private instruction in the classics as early as any of his brethren, if not indeed before them all, yet that his school, as such, only in fact covered the common English branches, until shortly before the cessation of Mr. Smith's school at Buffalo. But against this view, it is forcibly argued, on the ground of popular tradition, confirmed in probability, as we shall presently see, by Dr. McMillan's own words, that his school, as an academy, must have originated as early as Mr. Dodd's, viz., in 1782, if not one or two years before it. The argument turns somewhat, though not conclusively, upon another question, viz., whether James Ross, the first known teacher under Dr. McMillan, and afterwards so distinguished both as an advocate and statesman—having reached a seat in the United States Senate in 1794—gave instruction in the classics, or simply taught English branches, whilst receiving private instruction in Latin and Greek from Dr. McMillan himself. At least as early as 1786 he can be traced as an attorney in vigorous practice in the courts of Washington county.

After all, might there not be a key of solution in the suggestion that Dr. McMillan's school was probably opened as early as 1780, and included Latin and Greek in its design, so far as the demand for them then existed, but that upon the beginning of Mr. Dodd's distinctively classical academy two years later, such instruction may have been chiefly surrendered to him for a time, in view of the sufficiency of one such school to meet the demand, and in view of Dr. McMillan's other abundant labors; to which also is to be added the fact that Dr. McMillan's charge, so prolific of candidates for the ministry afterwards, was at first less so than the congregations of some of his brethren. This supposition concedes priority to Dr. McMillan, which is probably the truth, whilst it brings other facts into harmony with it, else very difficult of explanation. In that case, the subsequent collection of the classical students at Chartiers was simply, in this respect, a resumption.

The curious reader may find the whole question ably argued, if not satisfactorily settled, in the Appendix to Dr. Joseph Smith's History of Jefferson College; on the one side by the author himself, and on the other by Professor Robert Patterson, now associate editor of the *Presbyterian Banner*. But whatever may have been the origin of the "Log Cabin" academy, as compared with those of Messrs. Dodd and Smith, it survived them, and continued to supply the demands of English, classical, and even theological education, until 1791, when its students were passed over to the Canonsburg Academy, shortly before erected. The spirit of McMillan in this whole enterprise, as well as his hearty co-operation with his brethren in the same direction, may be discovered in the modest statement of his letter to the Rev. Dr. James Carnahan, under date of March 26th, 1832. "When I had determined," says he, "to come to this country, Dr. Smith" [his theological instructor, the Rev. Robert Smith, D.D., of Pequea] "enjoined it upon me to look out for some pious young men and educate them for the ministry, 'for,' said he, 'though some men of piety and talents may go to a new country at first, yet if they are not careful to raise up others, the country will not be well supplied.' Accordingly I collected a few who gave evidence of piety, and taught them the Latin and Greek languages, some of whom became useful, and others eminent ministers of the Gospel. I had still a few with me when the academy

was opened at Canonsburg, and finding I could not teach and do justice to my congregation, I immediately gave it up and sent them there."

Such was the state of the case, when the wants of the community rose above the supply of private enterprise, and demanded associated effort. "It reflects the highest honor upon these illustrious men," says Professor Patterson, the champion of Dr. McMillan's priority as an educator, "that scarce thirty years were suffered to elapse after the first daring adventurer had penetrated a hitherto pathless wilderness—thirty years not of prosperity, but of painful vigilance and struggle, of unexampled hardship and heroic endurance—until the poetry and eloquence of Greece and Rome, the truths of modern science and of sacred learning, had found three humble halls, three devoted instructors, and a score of assiduous pupils—though the war whoop of the retreating savage still echoed within the surrounding valleys, and his council fires still blazed upon the hills." And yet to-day we celebrate these first glorious achievements, following them down in their ever widening influences through three generations. The combined movement referred to found embodiment in the charter of the Washington Academy, by an act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, dated September 24, 1787. The same act devoted for the uses of the academy five thousand acres of public land north of the Ohio river, chiefly in what is now Beaver county. That charter was secured mainly through the influence of Dr. McMillan and his two elders, Judges Allison and McDowell, then members of the Legislature. The original list of trustees embraced all of the settled Presbyterian ministers west of the Monongahela, and not less than seven or eight ruling elders and some other leading members of the same denomination, as well as a goodly representation from other churches. It was not until 1789 that the academy went into operation under the Rev. Thaddeus Dodd, who was chosen principal, doubtless because, by common consent, he was the finest classical and mathematical scholar of these eminent fathers. His promise of continuance in this work covered only one year, though he gave an addition of three months, preaching one-third of this period in Washington, and the remaining two-thirds in his own charge. He was succeeded by his associate, Mr. David Johnston. But the

burning of the court house, in which the classes were heard, followed, and then a feeling of depression, if not of indifference in the community, almost insuperable. The division of sentiment among friends abroad, and diversion of their influence, and the suspension of operations which ensued, might probably have been avoided had the Hon. John Hoge, a trustee, and one of the proprietors of the town, met the proposal of the Rev. Messrs. John McMillan and Matthew Henderson, the latter of whom was father of the Associate (now United Presbyterian) Church in the West, for the donation of a lot for the erection of an academy. The prompt offer of such a lot in Canonsburg, by Col. John Canon, together with the advance of funds for the erection, turned the scale. About this time, or in the summer of 1791, a consultation of ministers and citizens, concerning the establishment of an institution on a larger scale, was held, which, under like influence, resulted in favor of Canonsburg.

Mr. Johnston having resigned at Washington, his election as principal of the new institution was followed by its speedy opening and the famous first recitation, "under the shade of some sassafras bushes," by Robert Patterson and William Riddle, the first pair of a long and worthy succession of students. The Rev. Messrs. McMillan, Smith, and Henderson were present, and consecrated the incipient enterprise in prayer. At the meeting of the Synod of Virginia, in October of the same year, another great impulse was given by the adoption of "a plan for the education of persons for the ministry of the Gospel," which recommended that two institutions should be taken under the patronage of the Synod. One of these was to be located in Rockbridge county, Virginia, under the presidency of the Rev. William Graham, and special care of the Presbyteries of Lexington and Hanover—the same which grew into Washington College at Lexington. The other was to be established in Washington county, Pennsylvania, under the care of the Rev. John McMillan, and to be "cherished" and "superintended" by the Presbytery of Redstone. The Synod also advised that in one or other of these institutions all the candidates for the ministry within its bounds should be instructed. The Presbytery of Redstone, at its meeting in Pigeon Creek, October 18, 1792, unanimously agreed to make Canonsburg "the seat of that institution of learning which they were appointed to superintend," though, upon a reconsidera-

tion of the subject, in the following spring, the way was left open for a division of the funds, if in the future the good of the church should require the erection of another institution. Contributions were taken by active agents under the influence, first, of the Presbytery of Redstone, and, then, after its organization, of the Ohio Presbytery, in whose terrritory the academy was located. Aid was also rendered under the favor of the Associate Presbyterian Church, led by the Rev. Matthew Henderson and others. These funds were applied in part to reimburse Col. Canon for his outlay in the erection of the academy, and in part for current expenses. In 1794, or seven years after the incorporation of the Washington Academy, a charter was obtained at Canonsburg for the institution from the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, under the name of "The Academy and Library Company." But at what precise time the "Log Cabin" school was merged into the Academy, thus fully established, it is not easy to determine. It is certain, at least, that without being under direct ecclesiastical control, the institution had the zeal of the ministry and the church in its favor. It was happy, also, in its succession of principals and assistant instructors, such as Samuel Miller, James Mountain, James Carnahan, and John Watson. The last of these became the first President of Jefferson College under the charter of 1802, while Mr. Carnahan reached afterwards the same high place in the College of New Jersey. Nor can such names among its pupils as those of Cephas Dodd, Elisha McCurdy, Thomas E. Hughes, Thomas Marquis, Robert Johnston, James Hoge, Joseph Stockton, Samuel Tait, James Satterfield, Obadiah Jennings, William Neill, James Ramsey, Gilbert McMaster, and others, fail to tell their own story of benefit in requital of the offerings of the church. At least one baptism of revival came down upon the institution, in 1797, in answer to the prayer of God's people, when of forty students there was not one who was not believed to be either an avowed Christian or "a subject of sharp awakenings." It was not, however, until the year 1800, that the first legislative aid came in the form of a grant of $1,000. And this in turn stimulated the renewal of a movement which had failed in 1796, but now found success in the charter of January 15th, 1802, which transformed the Canonsburg Academy into Jefferson College, the first, and in its day the most useful college west of the Alleghenies. The two sur-

viving fathers of the Redstone Presbytery, John McMillan and James Power, were among its trustees, Messrs Smith and Dodd having meanwhile gone to their rest. With them also were associated Joseph Patterson, Thomas Marquis, Samuel Ralston, John McPherrin, James Dunlap, and John Black, honored ministers, together with a list of laymen of corresponding prominence and worth. The officers of instruction were constituted by simply elevating the teachers of the academy into members of the Faculty.

Returning now to the Washington Academy, which, as we have seen, was suspended in 1791, we find that it was shortly afterwards re-opened and carried on with greater or less success until the spring of 1805, under James Dobbins and Benjamin Mills. Then a new era dawned upon it in the election to its management and instruction of the Rev. Matthew Brown, who had just then also been chosen as the first pastor of the Presbyterian church of Washington. He was ably assisted, the first year, by his young friend, David Elliott, afterwards his distinguished successor both in the college and the church, and the second year by his honored pupil, George Baird. Success crowned the ability and energy of the new principal, and in due time the academy, which had led her sister at Canonsburg by seven years in the first charter, now followed her, after the lapse of four years, in the second, having received also an act of incorporation as a college, dated March 28, 1806. Formal application was made for this charter to the Legislature by the trustees, but its success was due chiefly to the personal influence of the energetic principal, aided by the great force of Parker Campbell, Esq., the leading member of the Washington bar. The trustees of the academy were made the corporators of the college, and to their number, as in the Jefferson Board, additions were made from time to time from the most prominent ministers and citizens of the surrounding country. The proportion of numbers in both cases was always, of course, in favor of that branch of the church, which, in fact, gave the breath of life to both. It is worthy of remark that during the whole subsequent period, from the charter, in 1806, until the union of the colleges, with the exception of two and a half years, the presidency of the Board was filled by two venerable men, viz., the Rev. John Anderson, D.D., for twenty-four years, ending in 1831, and the Rev. David Elliott, D.D., LL.D., for thirty-three

years, ending in 1865. Dr. Samuel Ralston likewise presided over the Jefferson Board nearly forty-four years.

The history of Jefferson and Washington Colleges has heretofore been given to the public with considerable fullness. In these published memorials and in the general catalogue issued in 1872, an inquirer may partially trace the succession in each down to their *union* and their *consolidation*. Each struggled from first to last with poverty and passed through various changes of fortune. Yet each, by a divine blessing upon indomitable energy, accomplished a work for the country and the church beyond computation. Rival contestants they were for public favor upon the same field of operation. Their movements were not always without contest and bitterness. Their separate existence was maintained for about threescore years against an unceasing protest of the public mind, which, together with the pressure of their own necessities, compelled frequent though unavailing efforts for their consolidation. And yet the history of this or any other country may be challenged for results, in educated men, as great in proportion to the means expended as their records will show.

John Watson the first President of Jefferson College, grew up an orphan in Western Pennsylvania, almost without education, until his habits of reading and study were discovered by the distinguished Judge Addison. This gentleman encouraged him with books and counsel, and doubtless commended him to Dr. McMillan, who in turn elevated him from menial service to a place in the Academy at Canonsburg, first as a pupil, and then as assistant teacher, and then secured for him the benefit of a fund in Princeton College, pledging other help besides. But his own energy won triumph over the need of further help, having secured for him the position of teacher of the grammar school, and thus enabling him to graduate with distinction. Recalled to Canonsburg, he became Principal of the academy, and, also, along with his patron and father-in-law, Dr. McMillan, an influential agent in procuring the college charter, and then under it, by unanimous choice, the first in a long line of eminent presidents. Meanwhile he had entered the ministry, but his lamented death, November 31, 1802, within the very year of the charter and only three months after his inauguration, was a baptism of affliction to the infant institution and the church. With him was

associated Samuel Miller, or "Master Miller," as he was called from his former service in the academy, as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. A loving pupil, Dr. Samuel C. Jennings, describes this gentleman as a man of low stature, with a penetrating eye, and in old age a smooth white head; a self-made scholar, kindly in disposition, and rebuking oftener with the pointing of his finger than with sharp words. He is also reported as a decided Christian and an active ruling elder in Dr. McMillan's church, even after his voluntary retirement from the college, in 1830, until his peaceful death a year later. Dr. McMillan himself, without actual change of the service he was wont to render, was made Professor of Divinity, to give instruction, as before, to candidates for the ministry. And the very year of the charter was signalized by the graduation of the first class—trained in the academy, but crowned with college honors—consisting of Reed Bracken, Johnston Eaton, William McMillan, John Rhea, and Israel Pickens—all afterwards effective ministers of the Gospel but the last, who reached the distinction of Governor of Alabama and United States Senator. This beginning of the college was small, but it was the beginning of an enterprise, the end of which is still among the great purposes of God.

The administration of the second President, the Rev. James Dunlap, D.D., extended over a period of eight years, ending in 1811. He was a son of New Jersey College, of the class of 1773, received ordination in 1781 at the hands of the New Castle Presbytery, and after a pastorate of seven years over the united churches of Laurel Hill and Dunlap's Creek, near Brownsville, Pa., and of fourteen more over the latter church alone, accepted the presidency. His discharge of the trust was not marked with special interest, except in the way of financial struggle, on the part of the institution, to maintain its existence, and still harder struggle, on the part of the president, to defray the expenses of his family and pay his tutors, on a salary of less than $600, with a small addition from the Church of Miller's Run, to which he ministered. Even his salary was larger by one-fourth than that of his predecessor. Such then were the country and the times! These causes, along with a spirit perhaps too easily wounded by the frank dealings of the Board, led to the resignation of a man said to have possessed great

excellence of character. The average number of his graduates was slightly over *five*, which was the size of the only class under his predecessor.

During the interval of a year which followed, Dr. McMillan, who had been made Vice Principal for this purpose, gave to the college his general supervision. At its close the Rev. Andrew Wylie was inducted into the presidency—the same Dr. Wylie afterwards so noted in the administration of both the colleges and in their controversies. He had been a pupil of Dr. Matthew Brown, in the Washington Academy, but was graduated with the class of 1810, in Jefferson College, the last year of Dr. Dunlap's presidency. His succession to this high place at the age of twenty-two years, and only eighteen months after his reception of a diploma, was a triumph of which any young man might be proud. Perhaps we may find here the swing of the pendulum. It was, at least, a very marked return to the first policy of having a young president, after an intervening administration commenced at the age of sixty years. Nor was the new president—fine scholar and energetic executive as he was—remarkable for success, during the five years of his incumbency, as the total of his eighteen graduates will show. But fairness demands that we look away from Canonsburg for at least a part of the explanation.

It must be remembered that during the ten years last under review, Washington College had come into earnest operation under the Rev. Matthew Brown, its originator and first president, as we have seen. He was a graduate of Dickinson College in 1784. The eight classes which received the Bachelor's degree at his hands in these opening years numbered in all forty-eight, or an average of six. Like those of Jefferson, they embraced a fine proportion of names since high in the registry of Church and State. Much of the favor of the church, which, as has appeared, had been transferred to Canonsburg, was won back. The foundations of a college were firmly laid, alike in scholarship and government, and a presidential reputation was made, of which the alumni of both colleges are justly proud. And yet, let it be remembered, that until the last year of his term, the only regular professor associated with Dr. Brown was James Reed, who held the chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. Precisely the same was true of Jefferson,

which did not add a second professor until 1818, or three years later still, when in like manner the Ancient Languages were detached from the presidency and formed into a distinct chair. So limited then were these fountains of learning in resources! So self-denying and laborious the agents who executed their work! And yet so bright is the record of the men year by year sent from them into the high places of the land!

"The College War" cannot be passed over in this history, though even yet the time has scarcely come for its impartial treatment, except to state some of its prominent facts. It came to its crisis in the transfer, by election, in 1816, of Dr. Wylie from the presidency of Jefferson to that of Washington. It raged actively for at least two years, and then left animosities behind it, which far out-lived the busy actors themselves. Happy is the disposition of posterity to forget a strife which alienated good men, divided communities and families, filled the press with crimination, embarrassed the cause of education, and put the church of God itself under a heavy stress of trouble. Well has it been said, that the survival of the colleges themselves, and of religion at the centres of the contest, was a signal proof of the power and grace of God.

True to human nature as it is, the immediate occasion of this strife was an earnest and almost successful negotiation for the consolidation of the institutions at one place. Committees of the Boards met at Graham's tavern, midway between the two towns, on the 26th of October, 1815, and approximated but did not reach a satisfactory basis of union. The next day the following proposition was offered in the Jefferson Board, viz., "*Resolved*, That provided the Board of Trustees of Washington College will not recede from their *sine qua non*, viz., 'that the permanent site of the united college should be in the borough of Washington,' but will give $5,000, in addition to their present funds, half of the trustees, and the casting vote in the choice of the Faculty, this Board will agree to give up the site to them, and will unite with them in petitioning the Legislature to effect the object in view." Action, however, was suspended on this resolution, in order to hold a consultation with the Faculty, when President Wylie gave his consent, and stated his belief of Professor Miller's concurrence, founded on consultation with him. But a warm debate left the Board a tie upon the resolution, whilst the President,

Dr. Ralston, "hesitated" for a time, "but afterwards he did vote in the affirmative," though not until the negative side had claimed that the crisis was past, and the secretary had recorded that the president had declined voting—under which ruling the motion was, of course, lost. And thus was postponed, for just half a century, a consummation often sought, and surely devoutly wished, by many friends of both colleges before and since. Without expression of opinion, we may see in these facts, that it was not as yet the will of Providence that these streams should be joined until their separate benefits should have been more fully secured, and the channel of their union better prepared.

Negotiations to the same effect were soon renewed, though excited feeling rendered their success impossible. But other changes soon turned the current of events. The resignation of Dr. Brown as President at Washington, and the election of Dr. Wylie, with his transfer to the vacant place, were simultaneous. His election was secured, amidst excitement, by the casting vote of the President, Dr. John Anderson; and a like tumult prevailed at Canonsburg. In the hot strife thus engendered, motives were of course assailed. Parties resorted to the public press for vindication. Sharp lines of division were drawn between former friends, extending even to ministers and churches. Dr. Brown, retiring from the college, continued in his pastoral relation for six years longer, with the warmest love of his church generally, as well as the sympathy of a portion of the public, drawn to him as an injured man. During these six years, and for just the same period afterwards, Dr. Wylie presided at Washington, but neither his fine talents, scholarship, address, and energy, nor the warm devotion of friends and students, could wholly raise him above the adverse influences growing out of the circumstances of his election. Men of the highest honor were enlisted on both sides of that controversy, in view of which fact, the judgment even of this remote generation should be held in abeyance. Yet the evils of the warfare were clear and abundant. In such a condition of things, it is not a little to the credit of Dr. Wylie, that there was an average of nine graduates from the college during the twelve years of his administration. But his retirement in 1828 to take charge of the Indiana State University, at Bloomington, was soon followed by the suspension of the college itself. He died in 1851, having passed three score years.

Dr. Wylie's successor at Canonsburg was the Rev. Wm. McMillan, A.M., a nephew of the venerable founder of the college, and an alumnus of its first class. He was a man of rugged scholarship and force rather than of social and literary culture. He was measurably successful during his presidency of five years, adding fifty-nine names to the roll of alumni. He also supplied the church of Miller's Run. The chief reason of his resignation was the alleged failure of the Board to sustain him in a controversy with certain students, charged with mutiny, sedition, and rebellion. These charges, involving the reputation of the Principal, as he claimed, the Board, on investigation, did not regard as sufficiently proven. He was subsequently President of Franklin College, at New Athens, Ohio, and died in 1832.

The last Wednesday of September, 1822, marks the crisis and dawn of the true glory of Jefferson College. The Rev. Matthew Brown, D.D., LL.D., who then held a call in his hand to the presidency of Centre College, at Danville, Kentucky, and was favorably considering it, was elected that night to the place made vacant by President McMillan's resignation. A prompt committee managed to have him brought from Washington to Canonsburg before breakfast the next morning, ready to preside at the commencement, confer the degrees, and deliver the Baccalaureate address, all on the same day. Confessing himself bewildered as in a whirl of events, he could not resist what seemed to him and his brethren a clear call of the Lord. And subsequent events have but confirmed that interpretation. He carried into his new position the benefits of his official experience of ten years at Washington, and the fine reputation he had so fairly won. If his character was not the most symmetrical, he still had the elements of success in an eminent degree. Opposites blended in him most remarkably. Special eccentricities, a hasty temper, and the reactions of mirth and depression, were all joined with a vigorous intellect, clear judgment, quick discernment, good sense, ardent piety, and untiring energy. If his impetuosity sometimes involved him in mistakes, his students loved him, even the wildest of them, for the depth of heart which never failed to make him a friend of all disposed to do right. His strong hold upon the public, also, especially upon the church, gave him a power in behalf of the college, only surpassed by his unrivalled skill in canvassing for

patronage. Finding the institution with about eighty students, he soon greatly increased the number, and kept it at a high figure to the end of his service. In every other respect, also, the college was advanced. During the twenty-three years of his presidency, the graduates numbered seven hundred and seventy-two, or an average, for the whole period, of thirty-five. Of all these, it is said that nearly one-half entered the ministry, and not a few went forth as foreign missionaries. In word and deed he was a promoter of revivals, and rejoiced in at least two baptisms of great power through his ministry, both in the college and the church, of which for fifteen years he acted as pastor. That of 1834–5 will be recalled by some here present as the spiritual birth-time of many heralds of salvation, some of whom echoed his messages on heathen shores. Surely the seal of heaven is upon the work of those years. It must have been grateful to his heart, that upon the occurrence of the first simultaneous vacancy in the college and church at Washington, six years after leaving that place, he was cordially invited to resume his old position in each. He ever continued to love that community, and the church of which he had been the first pastor. And there, by his own request, his body was laid down to rest beside beloved dust, after his spirit had been called, July 29, 1853, at the venerable age of seventy-seven years, to its glorious rest.

The Rev. Robert J. Breckenridge, D.D., LL.D., of Kentucky, succeeded Dr. Brown upon his resignation in 1845, and for two years gave to the college the benefit of his great name and brilliant talents. But the government of a college not proving congenial to his taste any more than suitable to his gifts, he returned to his beloved native State in 1847, having graduated two classes, numbering in all ninety-six members. A portion of his remaining life was spent as a professor in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Danville.

Next in order comes an alumnus of 1825, in the person of that noble Christian gentleman, refined scholar, and eloquent preacher, the Rev. Alexander Blaine Brown, D.D., son of Dr. Matthew Brown. After serving for six years as Professor of Belles Lettres and adjunct Professor of Languages—four of them before the retirement of his venerable father—he was advanced to the presidency in 1847, and filled it with great credit and success for nine years, when

failing health compelled the exchange of labor for rest. A kind Providence, however, permitted him, the balance of his life, to open the Gospel to a loving people as pastor of the Centre Church. The cross was given up for the crown in 1863. He lives still in many hearts. Four hundred and fifty-three diplomas bear his signature, equal to fifty for each year.

In turn, two eminent gentlemen succeeded in this important office, viz., the Rev. Joseph Alden, D.D., LL.D., author of standard works on Mental Philosophy and the Science of Government, and the Rev. David H. Riddle, D.D., LL.D., the former for five, and the latter for three years, extending to the union of the colleges. Both of these presidents did honorable service in this office, sustaining well the prosperity of the college, and now occupy places of prominence and usefulness. Dr. Riddle is an alumnus of the class of 1823. He was a son-in-law of Dr. M. Brown.

In such a sketch of sixty-three years, it would be impossible to do justice to the long line of professors so identified with this history. They were generally men of very creditable ability as well as fidelity, and their names shall not perish from the college records, nor from the hearts of the alumni. Of such are John H. Kennedy, Henry Snyder, Samuel R. Williams, and Robert W. Orr, among the dead; and Aaron Williams, D.D., Robert Patterson, John Frazer, Samuel Jones, and Alonzo Linn, among the living—all except two distinguished sons of the college, as well as professors. But fidelity to truth, as well as deference to the affectionate memories of forty-four classes, must claim distinct notice of William Smith, D.D., a graduate of 1819, an honored Professor of Languages from 1821 until the union of 1865, and still a venerated servant of God, in the full use of his faculties, looking for his Lord's coming. Of the 1,890 graduates of these years, 920 entered the ministry, 408 became lawyers, 193 have been physicians, and 368 have turned to other occupations. About one-third of the whole number have ended the work of life. The survivors are dispensing the benefits gathered along the line of two human generations.

Returning once more to the other branch, before brought down to the suspension of 1828, we may trace the new life of Washington College through a period of thirty-five years. The interval of suspension had brought to Washington, as pastor of the Presbyterian

church, just the man to re-organize the college, in the person of the Rev. David Elliott, D.D., LL.D., a graduate of Dickinson College in 1808, then in his forty-third year, having been a pastor at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, for seventeen years. With the college as well as the church in view, he had been recommended by his admiring friend, Dr. Matthew Brown, on the resignation of Dr. Obadiah Jennings in order to accept a call to the church of Nashville, Tennessee. And the nobleness of both these eminent men, Drs. Brown and Elliott, is revealed in the fact that the most untiring devotion of each to these rival interests never cast a shadow over their confidential friendship. Dr. Elliott peremptorily declined the offered Presidency, and only yielded, at last, as a temporary expedient, until a permanent successor could be obtained. He opened the college accordingly, November 2d, 1830, with two Professors and some twenty boys of the vicinity, exalted into students. His own resolution, however, inspired confidence; his vigorous administration and extensive correspondence soon made the college known, and the third session ended with a collegiate roll of one hundred and nineteen young men, each class being respectably filled. Meanwhile, by a visit to Harrisburg, he had secured an annual State appropriation of $500 for five years, to support a department for the special education of teachers. At that stage of progress, he handed over the institution to the successor of his own nomination, the Rev. David McConaughy, D.D., LL. D., an alumnus of Dickinson, of 1795, called from the pastorate at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1832.

Dr. McConaughy's administration partook of the moral dignity of his character, without sensational or spasmodic effort. His resignation, in September, 1849, was followed by his peaceful death at his home in Washington, January 29, 1852, "in the seventy-seventh year of his life, and the fiftieth of his ministry." The survivors of three hundred and eighty-eight alumni who passed under his care can never forget the scholarly ability of his instructions nor the godly conversation which give the beauty of holiness to his life. Still less will they forget the extraordinary fervor of his prayers in their behalf, so often evinced by tremulous tones and flowing tears. Copying the portrait drawn of him after death by the hand of his discerning friend and immediate predecessor, we may well say that

if indeed "as it regarded direct personal activity abroad, and tactical skill in meeting sudden emergencies connected with the government of a college, he may have lacked some of the qualities desirable in a President," it is equally certain that "his commanding talents, his extensive and accurate scholarship, his unwavering integrity, his purity of motive, his paternal care and affectionate regard for his pupils, the dignity and uniformity of his deportment, and the captivating benevolence of his disposition—in a word, the concentrated force of the many and rare qualities which clustered around his character, gave him a power and control over the public mind and over the hearts of the young men, against which these few incidental defects presented but slight resistance."

Dr. McConaughy's successor was the Rev. James Clark, D.D., then called from a pastorate in Belvidere, New Jersey, and now a resident of Philadelphia. Upon his resignation, in July, 1852, after a service of two years in the college, that he might accept a call to Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, a temporary administration, coupled with a laborious pastorate, of which others, if necessary, but surely not myself, might speak, carried the institution to the annual commencement in September, 1853.

The inauguration of the Rev. John W. Scott, D.D., of the Jefferson class of 1827, as President of Washington College, upon the occasion just named, marks a new era in its history. A special relation had just been formed with the Synod of Wheeling, the object of which was to bring collegiate education more directly under the influence of religion and the church. Under that system the management of the institution was still in the hands of the Trustees, as before, but in consideration of the revenue derived from an endowment of $60,000, as well as other funds raised also by the Synod, that body had the nomination of members of the Board and the Faculty, and from the persons thus nominated the Board elected. The arrangement was indeed denominational, in the sense of a more positive religious influence, coupled with systematic study of the Bible, and, in the case of Presbyterian students, a like study of the standards of the church. But from this last course all who so preferred were excused, and beyond this, also, the largest liberty and exemption from sectarian influence known in other colleges was allowed. Justice to truth demands the statement that, under

WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON COLLEGE.

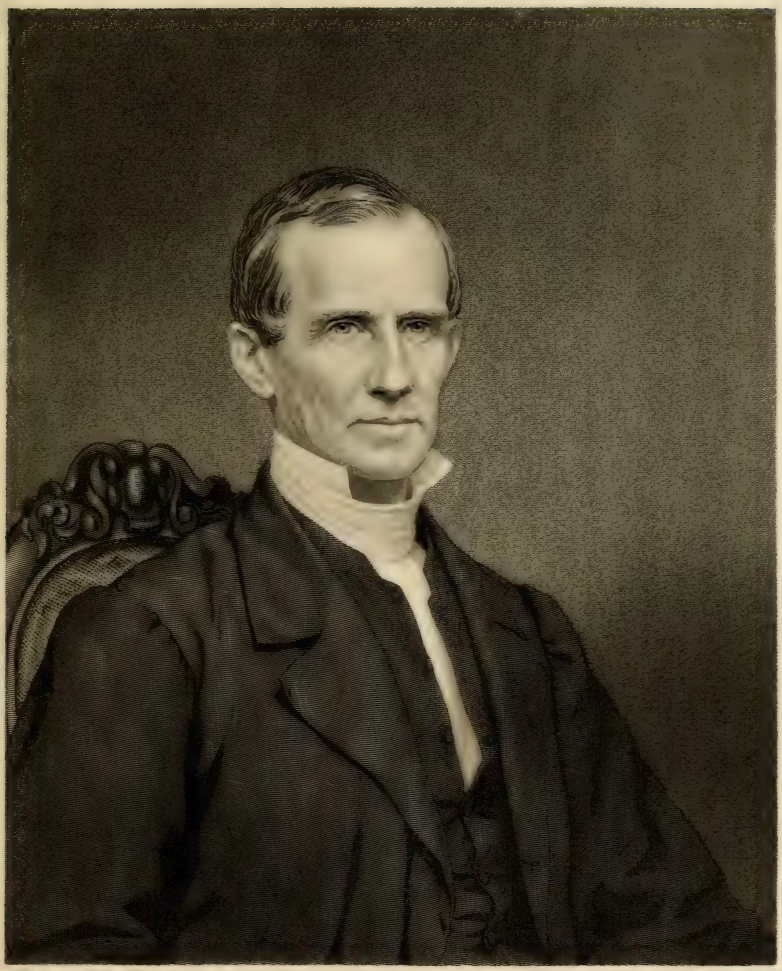
the lead of a very efficient President and the instruction of a Faculty of more than usual ability, the twelve years of this arrangement were not surpassed by any like period in thorough scholarship, and that, too, without the disadvantages of denominationalism, which so many feared. Two hundred and sixteen were added to the alumni, of whom one hundred and eighteen became ministers of the Gospel, including six foreign missionaries. During this period, several revivals of religion extended their influence into the college, as others had done before. Professors E. C. Wines, D.D.. William J. Martin, William H. Brewer, James Black, D.D., William J. Brugh, D.D., and others of this period, were worthy successors of William P. Alrich, D.D., William K. McDonald, LL.D., Richard Henry Lee, LL.D., Robert Milligan, Nicholas Murray, James W. McKennan, D.D., and others of the preceding period since the resuscitation. The last three named, as well as Professor Black, were worthy sons of the college. The President, in his voluntary retirement, preparatory to the union of the colleges, carried with him the high esteem of all connected with the institution. He is now doing efficient service in the cause of education, as Vice-President and Professor in the University of West Virginia, at Morgantown.

The foregoing recital brings us down to a most interesting event, several times referred to, viz., *the union of the colleges.*

For this event there had been a long course of preparation. Away from the localities of these institutions, there had always been a public sentiment averse to their separate existence. Attempts to unite them had been made, at intervals, through their whole history. We have before seen how near that of 1815 came to success. But many causes combined, at length, to force this result. Financial pressure was one of the chief. Each had been betrayed by bad example into the ruinous policy of endowment by cheap scholarships —Jefferson leading the way in 1851, and Washington following two years afterwards. In each case, the revenue thus provided only rose to the lowest level of expenses in cheap times with small salaries, without any provision for expansion or progress. The injury came in the almost total displacement of tuition fees, in the fastening of permanent responsibilities upon the colleges out of all proportion to their means, and in an evident lowering of the public estimate of

the pecuniary value of collegiate education. The cost of living, which was doubled, if not trebled, by the civil war of 1861–5, demanded as a necessity a reduction of the working force or else a great increase of funds. The large benefactions to colleges in the East, as the fruit of fortunes accumulated during the war, produced a competition in buildings, appliances, and new professorships, such as had never been known before. Unwonted facilities for travel and transportation, also, made access to all institutions easy, and reduced their cost to substantially the same level. Both Jefferson and Washington, in these circumstances and with the experience of reduced finances, must be speedily lifted out of their perils, or look the question of life or death in the face. No important help coming to either, a donation of $50,000 was offered by the Rev. Charles C. Beatty, D.D., LL.D., on condition of union. It was followed with the proposed surrender, on the same condition, of the ecclesiastical relation of Washington College by the Synod, and the tender of the perpetual use of its endowment to the united college, so long as it should continue to be *Protestant* and *evangelical*. Even then, the two Boards were reluctant, and only consented under the resistless force of public sentiment, concentrated by the joint action of the alumni, at the last moment of the crisis.

The union thus effected under a legislative act, dated March 4, 1865, was a step forward, but it proved to be incomplete and unsatisfactory. The corporations were merged into one, the departments and classes were apportioned and separately conducted at the two former localities, but with the effect of undue expense, a want of unity, and the old rivalry more or less continued. The Presidents of the old colleges, Drs. Scott and Riddle, gracefully retired, in order that the unity of the future might be represented fairly in the person of a new President, whose antecedents were identified with neither institution. In due time the choice fell upon the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D.D., LL.D., an alumnus of South Hanover College of the class of 1835, and twenty years afterwards its President, but then pastor of the West Arch Street Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, a gentleman of the finest talents and culture. His inauguration, April 4th, 1866, was followed by an honest effort on his part, seconded by the Faculty and Trustees, to make the experiment a success, but the complicated system was inseparable from



Very truly, Yours, &c
Charles C. Beatty

difficulties which could not be overcome. After three years of able service the President resigned, April 20th, 1869, to accept a pastoral charge in the city of Baltimore, having introduced one hundred and thirty-four graduates into the goodly company of the alumni. Again, however, the clamor had arisen for further change, and neither patrons nor alumni would be satisfied without it. Nothing would answer the demand short of *absolute consolidation at one place*. The Trustees again hesitated, but finally yielded to a necessity, and by careful steps reached, with singular unanimity, a plan which found its expression in an amended charter of February 26th, 1869, which of itself settled every question except that of location. This question, after a competition opened to any place in the State of Pennsylvania, was to be settled by a two-thirds vote of the Board within sixty days, or, on their failure, by the voice of four out of five disinterested arbitrators upon whom two-thirds of the Board might agree. It was, however, settled by a two-thirds vote of the Trustees on the 20th of April, 1869, in favor of Washington. Among the inducements offered by that community was a subscription of $50,000 to the funds of the institution. It is worthy of notice that other donations have since followed from the same community, including the endowment of an additional professorship by Francis J. Lemoyne, M.D. The Rev. Dr. Beatty has also added to his former munificent benefaction the endowment of the professorship of Greek. For a time litigation, attended with the restraint of an "injunction," arrested the progress of the consolidation, but in due time it was sanctioned by the highest courts of Pennsylvania and of the United States. During the interval of legal contest, Professor Samuel J. Wilson, D.D., LL.D., of the Western Theological Seminary, exercised the office of President for one session at Canonsburg, and the present speaker in like manner for the following year at Washington. But at the Commencement in 1870, the way for permanent reorganization having been sufficiently opened, the Rev. George P. Hays, D.D., pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church of Allegheny City, Pa., an alumnus of the Jefferson class of 1857, was elected President, and other corresponding changes were made. The inauguration took place in the Town Hall at Washington, on the evening of September 21st, 1870, in the presence of a large assembly composed of the Trustees,

Faculty, students, citizens, and strangers. The oath of office was administered by the Hon. William McKennan, Judge of the Third Circuit Court of the United States.

The five years which have since elapsed have been marked with very commendable energy in the President and his associates, in the Faculty as well as in the Board, and have witnessed gradual recovery from the depressing effects of the contest at law. The respective chairs are ably filled; the several classes have again come up to strength; the interest-bearing endowment funds amount to $180,000; and a new college building, valued, together with the ground, at $125,000, has been erected and dedicated, which, in beauty and adaptation, is in striking contrast with the succession of structures in both localities under the old system of things. All of these advancements simply represent the purpose of a new beginning, and invite public confidence to the future.

Such a record of work and fruits this Centenary offers in evidence, that the sacred trust of liberal education in behalf of God and humanity, taken up by John McMillan and his associates one hundred years ago, has been faithfully prosecuted. We have traced it down, though imperfectly, in this legitimate succession from their hands, to show the marvellous goodness of God in its preservation and progress. From the smallest beginnings amidst the throes of the nation's birth, there has been advancement upon the line of the covenant of our fathers with Heaven, until we have come to a crisis of blended history and hope, when the enterprise we have sketched offers its share of lustre to the crown of a century about to be placed upon the nation's head. But, best of all the trophies of the college for this complete cycle, are the achievements in the service of patriotism, humanity, and religion so nobly won by her three thousand alumni. Two-thirds of their number yet survive to celebrate the wonderful progress of their country, and the still grander work of the Church of God, whilst they rejoice, along with countless multitudes, that their Alma Mater has been honored in the training of so large a proportion of the effective agents in every department of responsibility and usefulness. It is no mean account which credits thirteen hundred ministers of the Gospel, seven hundred lawyers, and three hundred and fifty physicians, to these institutions; and all of these have gone forth to serve their generation in these

noble professional callings as leaders in society, a very large proportion of them going with the tide of emigration from Western Pennsylvania and adjacent regions, to people and elevate the great States of the West. It is a significant fact that of the six hundred and four ministers in the four Synods represented in this Convention, two hundred and twenty-nine, or more than one-third, are sons of this college. But it is a no less significant token that to the same graduation rolls we may trace forty-four presidents of colleges, seventy professors of colleges, and twenty two professors of theological seminaries, together with some twenty-five principals of female seminaries, and a countless number of principals of academies? Many of these have been in the front rank of educators, and the institutions with which they have been connected have been largely of the first class. And besides these, three have been Governors of States, five United States Senators, three Cabinet officers, forty-five Representatives in Congress, and fifty-one Judges. Neither history nor calculation can give the wider results with accuracy upon such a scale of operations. But surely, in the light of such facts, whilst allowing to others their just share of the work of the century we commemorate, it is not too much to say that the educational policy of Western Pennsylvania was initiated by the sainted fathers of the Redstone Presbytery, and that their descendants have, in a large proportion, directed and controlled it unto this day. May no infidelity to such a trust work its forfeiture!

OTHER INSTITUTIONS.*

Having thus followed the stream of this history down through its *direct* channels from the times of the fathers until now, it yet remains to trace some of the *collateral branches*, which have originated

* It is proper to explain that before delivery, the following part of this address was, upon the advice of honored brethren, enlarged beyond its original conception, and that it has been still further enlarged since, at the earnest solicitation of many who are entitled to represent the wishes of those for whose benefit these proceedings and their publication were intended. This apology for length will, it is hoped, be accepted.

J. I. B.

more or less, at different times, in the same influence, and have yielded large contributions to the same general results. It could not be otherwise than that men of liberal, and especially Christian, education should carry with them the like benefits into the places of their life and labor. How the institutions already sketched have reproduced their culture in scores of others through the patronage and even the direct agency of their pupils, has already been hinted. In common with other educated men, and largely in their own right, they have done much to shape the education of their country, especially in the Western and Southern States. But we must refrain from entering so large a field, and limit ourselves to the sphere covered by the labors of the early fathers, or that chiefly embraced in the limits of the original Synod of Pittsburgh, as well as subject to its influence. And of such institutions, foregoing even the mention of many of great usefulness, whose general relation to the community allow no other claim of Presbyterians to the honor of their work than that of hearty and effective co-operation, we may speak only of such as, directly or indirectly, have had important connection with the church of our love. Let it be remembered, however, that only a few of such institutions have been or are under ecclesiastical control, and none even of them have been exclusive, in any sense. When our ministers and members have borne the burden of support and responsibility, the advantages of education have been as free to others as themselves.

COLLEGES

may very properly claim our first attention. One of these, the WESTERN UNIVERSITY at Pittsburgh, scarcely comes within the rule here prescribed, but by location and actual merit deserves a passing mention. Its general relation to the community forbids Presbyterians to claim its work, in any peculiar sense, as their own. Yet, in fact, its succession of Presidents, from its establishment in 1819 to the present time, with one exception extending over a space of six years, have been representatives of one or other of the Presbyterian churches. Its present very efficient President, George Woods, LL.D., confesses the same faith with ourselves, and the President of the Board of Trustees is the Rev William D. Howard, D.D., pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, and a Vice-Presi-

dent of this Convention. Presbyterians, by circumstances rather than by rule, have most largely sustained and managed it—a fact not likely to be changed, since the large proportion of its handsome endowment has lately come from that source. Standing in the most general attitude, and having other objects more prominent, the ranks of the ministry have also profited by its excellent instructions.

ALLEGHENY COLLEGE, at Meadville, Pennsylvania, has a history not the most creditable to the enterprise of Presbyterians, however it may redound to the credit of a worthy sister denomination. It received its impulse from the Meadville Academy, which was chartered in 1805, and at first conducted by the Rev. Joseph Stockton, the first pastor of the Presbyterian church in that place. The college was chartered ten years later by the Legislature, which also made a donation to it of $2,000 at the same time. Its first President was the Rev. Timothy Alden, D.D., who, strangely enough, during most of his service of sixteen years, was the whole Faculty, as well being "Professor of Oriental Languages, Ecclesiastical History and Theology," with the further charge to give instruction "as occasion might require," in "all the branches of Literature and Science!" Dr. Alden's zeal secured donations to the library of eight thousand volumes from Drs. Bentley and Thomas, and the Hon. James Winthrop, all of Massachusetts, making one of the finest collections in the country at that time. By means of private benefactions and another gift of $5,000 from the State, buildings were erected. But though the college abounded in Trustees to the number of *fifty*, and dispensed honorary degrees with a lavish hand, its graduates were comprehended in three or four small classes, and, a portion of the time, instruction was suspended. An earnest effort to invigorate the college was made in 1829 by the addition of the Rev. David McKinney (now the venerable Dr. McKinney) and Reynall Coates, M.D., to its Faculty. But the discouragement and resignation of these gentlemen the next year, was followed by negotiations which, in 1833, resulted in the transfer of the institution to the Pittsburgh Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Possibly, this end was unavoidable. Some eccentricities in the President may have counteracted his industry. A greater hindrance may have been found in the attachment of surrounding ministers and other educated men to other colleges, especially those of Wash-

ington county. But wounded pride may find compensation in the hope that the superstructure, reared by others upon foundations laid by Presbyterian hands, may ever stand for our country's good and the glory of our common Lord.

Franklin College, located at New Athens, Ohio, has completed an existence of half a century. Its charter is dated January 22, 1825. The Rev. William McMillan, D.D., formerly President of Jefferson College, was chosen as its first President in the following spring. A successful administration of seven years, with the sole assistance of Professor John Armstrong in the chair of mathematics, came to an end by Dr. McMillan's death. He was succeeded by the Rev. Richard Campbell, and then by the Rev. John Welsh, each of whom retired, after brief service, to die of consumption. The Rev. Joseph Smith, D.D. (author of "Old Redstone"), began, in 1837, a service in this office, which for a time was marked with much advancement and promise, as shown in the addition of a professorship and other enlargement. But the anti-slavery agitation just then rose to its height, and had New Athens as one of its centres. President Smith yielded to the fierce strife, and accepted a like position in Frederick College, Maryland. The Rev. William Burnett succeeded him, but in one year, for like causes, the President and all the Professors resigned, leaving the college without a Faculty. At this crisis the special enemies of slavery gained ascendancy and reorganized the institution, with the Rev. Edwin H. Nevin, D.D., as President, assisted by two professors. The popular talents of the President, backed by the determined spirit of his supporters, withstood many difficulties, even the sale of the college property for debt under the sheriff's hammer, until 1845, when he accepted a pastorate in Cleveland. His successor, the Rev. Alexander D. Clark, D.D., ended a labor of sixteen years of comparative success by his transfer, in 1862, to Allegheny City, Pa., to devote himself wholly to a professorship in the United Presbyterian Theological Seminary, the duties of which he had performed a part of each year during most of his Presidency. During the war of the Rebellion and until 1868, the college had a feeble existence without a head, but then the Rev. R. G. Campbell combined these duties with those of his pastorate for a period of three years, when he yielded his place to the present incumbent, A. F. Ross, LL.D. Of these Presidents, Messrs. Mc-

Millan, Richard Campbell, Smith, and Nevin were Presbyterian ministers; the rest, except the present one, were ministers of the United Presbyterian Church or the bodies now composing it.

President Ross, though not a minister, has long been a worthy ruling elder of the Presbyterian church. He brought to the college a fine reputation for talents and scholarship, and much experience as a professor in other institutions. Under his management, should the present effort to secure an endowment succeed, we may look for future stability and progress. Of the more than three hundred alumni of the college, at least two-thirds have gone into the ministry of the Gospel, being divided chiefly between the two Presbyterian bodies from which it has drawn its support. Many others have reached high stations in public life as civilians.

Western Reserve College is located at Hudson, in North-Eastern Ohio. The date of its charter is February 7, 1826. It was founded by the three Presbyteries of Grand River, Portage, and Huron, for the distinct purpose of educating young men for the ministry. These Presbyteries, formed under the "Plan of Union," included all the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of the Connecticut Western Reserve. The happy reunion of the Presbyterian Church, after a division covering the period of a generation, and the consequent reconstruction of its ecclesiastical bodies, have placed this college within the limits of one of the Synods composing this convention. This blending of forces also joins it in closer sympathy than ever before with the other institutions now passing under review, alike in the sphere and objects of their great work. Its scholarly and excellent President, the Rev. Carroll Cutler, D.D., like his worthy predecessor, the late Rev. Henry Lawrence Hitchcock, D.D., is a member of the Presbytery and Synod of Cleveland. Their two only predecessors were Presbyterians also.

The Rev. Charles Backus Storrs, D.D., was Professor of Theology in the institution as early as 1828, or two years before he became the first President of the Faculty. He gave place, in 1833, to the Rev. George Edmond Pierce, D.D., and he in turn to Dr. Hitchcock, in 1855. Dr. Cutler has been President since 1871. A distinct Theological Department was conducted from 1830 until 1854, since which time "theology has been taught here, as in other colleges, only so

far as it is a part of a liberal education." A Medical Department was established in Cleveland in 1844, which is still in operation. The catalogue for the past year contains the names of *seventy-two* academic students, *eighty* medical, and *fifty-four* in the preparatory school. Of about four hundred graduates of the college proper, one-third have entered the Christian ministry, and a fair proportion are in preparation for it. Fourteen have become foreign missionaries. Ninety-nine are, or have been, pastors of Presbyterian churches, and seventeen more became such, who, without academic graduation, studied theology under the professors. Six alumni are in theological seminaries as candidates for the Presbyterian ministry. The present endowment is chiefly the gift of Presbyterians. One of the professors is a minister of the Congregational Church. The trustees are chiefly Presbyterians and Congregationalists, the majority being on the side of the former. The college is reported as favorably situated, in a healthy condition, having an elevated standard of scholarship, and possessing a high character, alike in the ability of the professors and the culture of the alumni.

WOOSTER UNIVERSITY, situated at the town of the same name in Wayne county, Ohio, is the youngest of these collegiate institutions. It was "founded" and is "owned and controlled by Ohio Synods of the Presbyterian Church." But while standing in these relations, it claims to be "under constant and positive religious principles and influences," and yet "without sectarianism or restriction of freedom of opinion."

The pioneer settlers in the region of this university, especially the Presbyterians among them, were mostly Scotch-Irish immigrants from Pennsylvania. Their ministers were in the largest proportion educated in Jefferson and Washington Colleges. They carried with them the educational as well as religious spirit of their race. The first policy of the State appeared in the establishment of Ohio University, at Athens, in 1804, and twenty years later, in the charter of Miami University, at Oxford. Presbyterians, simply by means of their position and general force in society, wielded a controlling influence in both. But a deepening anxiety concerning the religious culture so essential to sound collegiate training, was a natural sequence of the tenure of property and the power to elect trustees, both held by the Legislature. Other denominations also were

taking care of their own interests by means of colleges of their own. Self-preservation, therefore, demanded distinct action.

Earnest discussion, in these circumstances, among leading ministers and others, chief among whom was the venerable James Hoge, D.D., of Columbus, led, as early as 1847, to union in the policy of a Synodical College. But the object was not really gained until 1866, when the Synods of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Sandusky (O. S.) came to agreement in the establishment of the University at Wooster. The liberal offer by the citizens of the town and county of a site of twenty-one acres, together with a subscription of $100,000 for building purposes, had much to do with the choice of a location. An energetic canvass of the Presbyterian churches in the State produced a subscription of $260,000 to the endowment fund. And the building having been erected, except its projected wings, the college was formally organized in 1870. A faculty was then installed, with the Rev. Willis Lord, D.D., as President. At the same time, Charity Medical Hospital at Cleveland, having fifty students, transferred its property and corporate rights to the young university, and became its medical department. Two years later a preparatory school was added. Unlike the mother colleges of Pennsylvania and the older States generally, the co-education of the sexes was, from the first, adopted as the policy of this institution.

The five years of subsequent history—the names and boundaries of the controlling Synods having meanwhile been changed in consequence of the reunion of the church—have shown marked success and growing public favor. The students have been largely sons of Ohio, but many also have come from adjacent States. About one-half of the seventy-seven graduates from the collegiate department have devoted themselves to the work of the ministry. Dr. Lord was succeeded in 1873, by the Rev. A. A. E. Taylor, D.D., under whose spirited presidency the university is going forward in a very encouraging manner, alike in numbers, appliances, and all the other elements of success. The Faculty embraces a full number of professors, and the collegiate students for the year 1875 reached the number of one hundred and seventy, including, of course, young ladies who are members of the several classes. In such a history, with its implied promise, all true friends of education, religion, and the Presbyterian Church must rejoice, whilst they cordially recognize

in the new university one of the forces to be relied upon, under the blessing of God, for the joint diffusion of thorough culture, sound views, and salutary moral and religious influence over our whole country and the world.

From colleges we now come to

ACADEMIES.

It would be impossible to write the histories, or even to state the names and localities of the numerous classical schools of the century past, which have rendered important service to society, as well as to our own and other branches of the church, in requital of co-operative support. Many such have been mainly sustained by the influence of our ministry and membership. Few, if any, others have failed to receive at least a fair proportion of patronage from the same source. Of a very large number Presbyterian ministers have been principals or teachers, before or after their ordination. Yet, in a large number of such cases, it would be unjust to other brethren associated in the same enterprises to set down the work and results to the credit of Presbyterianism. Let us rather forego a measure of our lawful claim than "boast of things without our measure, that is, of other men's labors." A limited selection, therefore, according to our knowledge, must not be taken as implying disparagement of others, not less worthy of recorded history in their more general relations and work.

The first in order is the academy at Greersburg, now Darlington, Beaver county, Pennsylvania.

The founder of this school was the Rev. Thomas Edgar Hughes, who was born April 7, 1769, in York county, Pa., prosecuted his preparatory studies in the Canonsburg Academy, was graduated in the college at Princeton in 1797, studied theology with Dr. McMillan, was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Ohio in 1798, and ordained the following year as pastor of the churches of Mount Pleasant and New Salem, in Beaver county. He was the first pastor settled north of the Ohio river, and the Moderator of the Presbytery of Erie, at its session in 1806. At that meeting, held in one of his churches, the general solicitude in behalf of education found expression in the following minute, viz.: "Presbytery proceeded to take into consideration the necessity of a seminary of learning being in-

stituted within their bounds for the education of youth, resolved to give their aid to erect an academy at Greersburg, and to solicit the aid of their respective charges." It is the impression of the Rev. Wm. Hughes, the second of four honored ministerial sons of the subject of this notice, who still lives at Loudonville, Ohio, that his father opened a school in a cabin at Greersburg, which was within his pastoral charge, at least as early as 1803. But, as an organized academy, under the fostering care of the Presbytery, it dated from 1806, as we have seen. The Legislature, in granting its charter, also made an appropriation to it of six hundred dollars. Mr. Hughes was himself the first teacher, and in person collected funds for its establishment, traveling, for this purpose, into the New England States as far as Boston, where, besides donations in money, he received a considerable library, globes, maps, and an orrery. In 1808, Mr. Hughes reported to the Presbytery the collection of between four and five hundred dollars, which sum was by that body appropriated to the use of young men preparing for the Gospel ministry. From 1814 until 1830, the school was taught by the Rev. Messrs. James Rowland, Robert Dilworth, D.D., and J. R. Cunningham, respectively, during their preparation for licensure. But Mr. Hughes always extended to it his earnest care, and the students enjoyed the benefits of his ministry, and of the powerful revivals with which it was blessed. Many of them were fitted there for their subsequent course in Jefferson College, whilst others passed from their academical training at once, under the same instructor, to the study of theology. A large number of them became effective preachers of the Gospel.

One incident, hitherto unpublished, may serve to illustrate at once the spirit of the founder and the work of the school. Mr. Hughes was traveling on horseback one evening, when darkness overtook him. Passing a cottage, he heard the voice of a female pleading in prayer for her little boys, in an adjoining garden, and dedicating them to God, that in some way they might be used in his service. Learning from the family with whom he lodged that night something of that mother and her children, he made special arrangements for the education of one of them at the academy. That little boy has since been known as a distinguished minister of the Gospel, college professor, and author of books, under the name of William H. McGuffey, D.D., LL.D. His death, not long since, closed an ex-

tended service of high honor in the University of Virginia, preceded by a similar work in the University of Ohio. He was graduated in the class of 1826, of Washington College.

The ACADEMY OF WEST ALEXANDER, in Washington county, Pennsylvania, was organized in September, 1828, by the Rev. John McCluskey, D.D., an alumnus of Jefferson of 1822, now a father in the church, resident in Wooster, Ohio, but then a young minister assuming the care of a church to which he had been called the previous April. Mr. McCluskey, aided by competent teachers, managed the school alone until 1836, when, on account of its great increase, a board of trust was chosen to assist him. A legislative charter was secured in 1840, and in 1849 the academy was formally taken under the care of the Presbytery of Washington, as, at once, a Parochial and Presbyterial institution. The resignation of his pastoral charge, in 1853, passed the academy, as well as the church, from the hands of Dr. McCluskey into those of his excellent successor, the Rev. William H. Lester. During this period, covering a quarter of a century, forty-four ministers of the Gospel have come forth from that school, thirty-two of whom entered the service of the Presbyterian Church. Fifteen more have since been added. Of these, and others, not a few were hopefully converted while they were at the academy. Diligent teaching, energetic administration, earnest biblical instruction, and the genial influence of religious culture, were all crowned with rich fruits. The reduction of expenses to the lowest possible point brought the poor side by side with the rich into the full benefit so freely enjoyed. Most of the students thus trained entered Washington College, and are now numbered among her sons.

Simultaneously with the opening of the academy at West Alexander, a classical school was established (in the same Presbytery) at CROSS CREEK, the site of Vance's Fort, so prominent in Presbyterian history, and the scene of the labors of the "silver-tongued" Marquis, as it has since been the scene of the ministry of the venerable John Stockton, D.D., for nearly half a century. This school was started under the influence of Mr. Stockton, who was a graduate of Washington College, a year after his settlement as pastor. Its teachers, with various intervals, were Samuel and George Marshall (the latter a son of Jefferson, in the class of 1831, and afterwards the Rev. Dr. Marshall, of Bethel), Robert McMillan, and Thomas M. C. Stockton,

son of the pastor. Thirty ministers of the Gospel came forth from that school, besides several others from the congregation in which it was located. Dr. Marshall, after his settlement at Bethel, opened a school there, which was also largely blessed and useful in the same way.

ELDERSRIDGE ACADEMY was founded by the Rev. Alexander Donaldson, D.D., pastor of the Presbyterian church in the place of the same name, in Indiana county, Pennsylvania. Dr. Donaldson was graduated at Jefferson College in 1835. On the day of his ordination, June 21, 1839, a young man was placed under his care, for study, by the Presbytery. Others followed during a period of seven years, until the whole number thus instructed amounted to twenty-five, nearly one-half of whom were there at one time. At this point, under the urgency of his old and honored preceptor, Dr. Matthew Brown, Mr. Donaldson formally opened an academy, on April 16, 1847, having for his assistant Mr. John Barnett, afterwards an alumnus of Jefferson College, of the class of 1849, and now pastor of the church at Connellsville, Pennsylvania. Sixteen students appeared at the opening, and during the summer a small frame building was erected, at a cost of $300, which answered the purpose of a school-room, until, in 1853, it gave place to a brick structure of two stories, costing $3,000.

The whole number of students connected with the academy up to this time has been twelve hundred and fifty, of whom about two hundred were young ladies. More than two hundred of the whole number have since become graduates—most them in colleges, and some in the female seminaries. Two hundred and fifty have "confessed Christ before men" while they were students in the academy. Out of the whole number, one hundred and eighteen have entered the Christian ministry, as against sixty-nine who have entered the medical profession, and sixty-one who have become members of the bar. Seven have gone, in holy consecration, as foreign missionaries, to carry the Gospel to the heathen. In 1850 the academy was formally transferred to the care of the Blairsville Presbytery, but this connection was ended by the formation of the Presbytery of Saltsburg, in 1856, in the bounds of which it was. Then it fell back with its educational and pecuniary responsibilities to the care of the principal, as before. A negotiation is now pending with a

view to its transfer, as a donation, to a board of trustees, who are hereafter to hold and control it, selecting its principal and teachers. In advance of a charter, the building is undergoing thorough repair, and other arrangements are in progress. Dr. Donaldson will still be its principal, assisted by T. B. Elder, A.B., and S. J. Craighead, A.B. Such a record as this is surely worthy of a place in these memorials of God's blessing upon the fidelity of his consecrated servants. Will it not enter as truly into that history to be unfolded when the Lord himself shall come to make up his jewels?

Glade Run Academy, situated in Armstrong county, Pennsylvania, and, like Eldersridge, within the present boundaries of the Presbytery of Kittanning, next claims our attention. It was founded in October, 1851, by the Rev. Cochran Forbes, then pastor of the church of Glade Run, and the members of his session. The service of the first principal, now the Rev. John M. Jones, of Markle, Pennsylvania, following immediately his graduation in Washington College, extended over a period of three years, and, being renewed in 1861, was continued until 1868. During the remainder of the whole period, now approaching a quarter century, with the exception of two or three sessions, the charge has been in the hands of the Rev. Geo. W. Mechlin, D.D., the present pastor of the church. He belonged to the Jefferson class of 1853. Near the close of the late civil war a building was erected by friends of the academy to increase the facilities for cheap and comfortable boarding, into which all disabled soldiers were received without room rent, and another building for the same general purpose has since been added, at the sole expense of Mr. G. W. Goheen. The inspiration of these movements created the further need of a charter, which was obtained in 1864.

This academy was the first of its kind in a large district extending to the north and east of it. It was founded in prayer, with a chief design alike of furthering thorough education, and of securing a safe retreat from the corruptions of society. Many have enjoyed, through its instrumentality, thorough professional training, who otherwise would never have even aspired to it, and not a few schools have since started into existence, finding in it both a precedent and a model. Nearly twelve hundred students have more or less shared its advantages. During one year the roll contained one hundred

and twenty-seven names. About forty of the number are now preaching the Gospel, whilst ten or twelve more are in college preparing for the same sacred office. A fair proportion also have gone into the other professions, some of whom have already reached eminence. Many, too, have been successful teachers. The blessing of the Lord still abides upon the academy, with the promise of still more abundant future results.

The WITHERSPOON ACADEMY, at Butler, Pennsylvania, is one of the few institutions established under ecclesiastical control which have had continuous prosperity. Its existence may be traced to a convention called by the Presbytery of Allegheny (now Butler), in 1847, when the pen of the lamented Van Rensselaer was stirring the Church in behalf of a more sanctified education. Its first principal, as well as the chief agent in its establishment, was the Rev. Loyal Young, D.D., then pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Butler, assisted by David Hall, now the Rev. Dr. Hall, of Indiana, Pennsylvania. A charter was obtained in 1849, and a building was erected with money contributed by the churches. The successors of Dr. Young as principal have been the Rev. Messrs. Martyn Ryerson, John Smalley, J. R. Coulter, James S. Boyd, J. W. Hamilton, and the present incumbent, William I. Brugh, D.D. Dr. Brugh, after holding a professorship in Washington College for several years, undertook the academy, and during the ten years of his charge, his ability and energy have carried it up to a high stage of prosperity. Together with commodious buildings, an elevated standard of scholarship, a healthful moral and religious influence, and skillful teaching and management, the academy has a fine record of successful work. Through its new plans and spirit it also looks out upon a bright future. Eleven hundred pupils of both sexes have more or less enjoyed its advantages. Besides sending many sons into the other professions, and into high positions of public trust, it has about twenty-five representatives in the sacred office, and almost as many more who are candidates for the same holy work. The catalogue for the past year contains the names of 106 male and 89 female students.

The VERMILION INSTITUTE was established at Haysville, Ohio, in 1846, by the citizens of that place. Some three or four years later, it was donated to the Presbytery of Richland for the purposes

of a Presbyterial academy. The Presbyteries of Coshocton and Wooster were subsequently also enlisted in its support and management. After the reunion of the Church in 1870, the ownership and control remained in the Presbytery of Wooster until the spring of 1875, when, on account of various difficulties, it was sold and reconveyed to the citizens of Haysville. During a portion of these years, however, it accomplished a work eminently worthy of commemoration.

The successive principals of the institute were the Rev. W. W. Colmery, the late Rev. S. Diefendorf, D.D., and A. F. Ross, LL.D. The highest prosperity was reached under Dr. Diefendorf, who, if not specially distinguished for accurate scholarship, "had," in the language of the Rev. T. K. Davis, "the admirable faculty of waking the students to independent thought, and imparting to them a sturdy, off-hand, and self-reliant character." His peculiar skill, also, in cheapening the cost of living, had a marked effect in gathering students, the number rising, in 1860, to two hundred and twenty-five. But most positive of all was his religious force, which was wielded through a continual handling of "the deep things of God," as represented in the great questions of theology. "From 1858 to 1864," says Dr. John Robinson, "an almost continual revival of religion prevailed in the institution. Students who went there avowed infidels were converted, and have since entered the ministry. It is believed that about one hundred of the students have become ministers of the Gospel."

The New Hagerstown Academy, Ohio, deserves a like honorable mention, were its history sufficiently known. During the past thirty-nine years of its existence, it has had but one idle term. Its founder, the Rev. Richard Brown, D.D., still lingers in venerable age to bless God for the fruit of his labor. The like reward of success belongs to the Rev. Alexander Swaney, D.D., another principal. Its present head is J. Howard Brown, a son of the first principal. The pupils, male and female, have reached in all the number of twelve hundred. Not less than fifty of the students are now preaching the Gospel.

The Miller Academy, a child of the Presbytery of Zanesville, and organized in 1851 at Washington, Ohio, had a brief but excellent life. Its first principal, the Rev. James Anderson, resigned early

CANONSBURGH ACADEMY,

CANONSBURGH, PA.

FORMERLY JEFFERSON COLLEGE.

on account of domestic affliction, and was succeeded, after an interval of suspension, in 1854, by the Rev. J. E. Alexander, now of Greenville, Tennessee, who for nine years conducted it with great success and benefit. As many as fourteen candidates, assisted by the Board of Education, were there at one time, besides others also looking to the sacred office. Sixteen students were, in a revival of 1858–9, hopefully brought to Christ. A large proportion of the students became heralds of the Gospel. The lamented Dr. Van Rensselaer, Secretary of the Board of Education, after a visit in 1858, bore the following testimony, viz., "Miller Academy has already rendered a vast service to the cause of education and religion. Its works praise it." It is to be lamented that the disturbance and enlistments of the war of the Rebellion led to its suspension, and that it has since passed out of existence.

The CANONSBURG ACADEMY, which now occupies the former site and buildings of Jefferson College, has a legitimate right by inheritance to a place in this record of the century. It was an express provision of the charter of 1869, which consolidated the two colleges, that an academy, normal school, or other institution of lower grade than a college, should be established at the place losing the college, or at each of them should a new place be chosen. And in either or each case, as the case might be, as much of the property there located as the Board should think necessary for the use of such an institution, was to be placed in the hands of seven local trustees, chosen by the Board for this purpose, and authorized to carry the organization into effect. When, therefore, Washington had been chosen as the seat of the united college, the Board in due time designated Messrs. William Smith, D.D., Dr. William G. Barnett, Dr. J. W. Alexander, Dr. John W. Martin, John Hays, Esq., David C. Houston, and J. Nevin Brown, as the trustees of the academy, and set apart for their use and control the college buildings at Canonsburg, the President's house, and the two additional professors' houses, together with a valuable portion of the libraries, apparatus, and furniture, formally relinquishing all further right in them.

The academy has been most happy in the selection, as its principal, of a scholarly Christian gentleman of the highest fitness, integrity, and industry, in the person of the Rev. William Ewing,

Ph.D., an alumnus of Washington College of the class of 1842. His associates in instruction are Messrs. James F. Ray, a scientific graduate of Washington and Jefferson College in 1871, Professor of Mathematics, and William M. Payden, Professor of Languages, together with other occasional assistants. Valuable assistance was rendered a portion of the time by the Rev. William F. Brown, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Canonsburg. As now constituted the academy has two departments. The classical department prepares young men for college, and the normal is designed for the special education of teachers. During the four years since the opening, the number of students for the year has ranged from one hundred and five to one hundred and twenty-nine. The academy has already won a high reputation and a fine prospect by the thoroughness of its instruction, as indicated in the high standing of its students in some of the best colleges of the land. Its success has surprised even its own friends.

FEMALE SEMINARIES

did not form a part of the educational scheme of the Presbyterian fathers of Western Pennsylvania. Yet they constitute a necessary outgrowth of their conception and work. Society cannot be successfully elevated without thorough culture in the mothers, daughters, and sisters of the land. Such culture is surely a birthright of the Gospel, under which the distinction of relative responsibilities remains, but which in the heritage of privilege and duty knows "neither male nor female." Seven centuries before the Christian era, the prophet's vision included the very prospect which only the Church of the last half century has begun to adequately realize: "Thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be nursed at thy side." (Isaiah lx. 4.) The work and progress of this half century, in the direction now indicated, have, in the region represented in this Convention, been equal to those of any other part of our country, at least in proportion to the general wealth. Only the preparation of the first half of this period was needed in the removal of prejudices and the development of educational ideas, to make the Presbyterianism of this region true to itself in lifting the

education of females to the level of that of the other sex. The blessed results have already come to large realization.

The EDGEWORTH LADIES' SEMINARY, established by Mrs. Mary Olver, at Pittsburgh, in 1825, and shortly afterwards transferred to Braddock's Field, was the first institution of its kind west of the Allegheny Mountains. After eight or ten years it was again removed to the beautiful valley of Sewickley, on the Ohio river, where, with greater or less success, it flourished until February 11, 1865, when the destruction of the building by fire brought it to an end.

The fine English culture of the first principal, sanctified by the grace of God, impressed the best educational and religious character upon the institution, making it a large blessing to many homes, to society, and to the Church of God. At her death, July 1, 1842, it passed under the care of her daughter, Mrs. M. J. Flower, but its doors were closed in 1843. In the spring of 1846 it was reopened, under the charge of the Rev. Daniel E. Nevin and his wife, who successfully conducted it for six and a half years, deriving their patronage chiefly from wealthy families in Pittsburgh, both Presbyterians and Episcopalians. It was then transferred to Prof. Samuel R. Williams, who had just been a member of the Faculty of Jefferson College. He in turn, after two years of prosperity, yielded it to the Rev. Henry R. Wilson, D.D., and he again, three years later, to the Rev. Aaron Williams, D.D., whose term ended with the conflagration. It was chiefly a boarding-school, through its whole history. To the last it maintained a high position, not only for mental culture, but also for religious spirit and influence. Many daughters of the Church trace to its opportunities the enlargement of their minds and gracious blessings in their hearts.

The STEUBENVILLE FEMALE SEMINARY, a short distance beyond the borders of Pennsylvania, but within the old Synod of Pittsburgh, was opened on the 13th of April, 1829, by the Rev. Charles C. Beatty, D.D., pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Steubenville, and his wife, Mrs. Hettie E. Beatty. It was undertaken as a joint service to society and the cause of Christ, and from a small beginning it soon developed into a seminary of the first class, and in this attitude it has ever since remained. The first six graduates received their diplomas, and the first catalogue was issued, in 1833. The history of the institution records a long list of assistants and teachers, who, under the

wise headship of Dr. and Mrs. Beatty, have done its work in the most satisfactory manner. In 1856, the Rev. A. M. Reid, Ph.D., who represents the Jefferson class of 1849, and his wife, Mrs. S. L. Reid, were associated with the management as assistants; and in time they became the successors of Dr. and Mrs. Beatty. The latter, however, still hold official connection with it in the way of superintendence and care, as their hearts and influence are yet, in comparative retirement, given to its interests. More than four thousand pupils have thus far been connected with this seminary, six hundred and seventy-nine of whom have been regularly graduated. Thirty of these pupils have gone forth as missionaries to the heathen world, about five hundred have become wives of ministers of the Gospel, and about two thousand have been engaged, more or less, in the work of teachers. In the impulse of their beginnings, and the character they have taken, many institutions in this and other parts of our country have the best reason to bow in filial respect to this "mother of schools and seminaries." Happy as it has always been in high educational tone, there is a still brighter seal upon the fidelity of almost half a century, in the immortal fruits of its uniform religious influence, as they have appeared in hundreds of pupils returned to their parents as children of the kingdom of God.

The WASHINGTON FEMALE SEMINARY, at Washington, Pa., will, by the first of next May, have completed a history of forty years. Its first principal, Mrs. Frances Biddle, of Philadelphia, after a service of four years, yielded her place, in 1840, to Miss Sarah R. Foster, now Mrs. Hanna, widow of the late Rev. Thos. Hanna, D.D. Under this headship, the seminary was brought down successfully to 1874, when the honored principal, yielding to the infirmity of years, gave the reins of adminstration into younger hands. She still lives, respected, in sight of the institution she loved so well. At this point the graduation list had reached five hundred and forty-seven, one-sixth of whom had passed from among the living. A much larger number had, of course, enjoyed, in part, the advantages of the seminary without completing the course. Ten or twelve became missionaries, more than one hundred have been successful teachers, and a fair proportion have gladdened ministers' homes as wives and mothers. Its chief support has come from Presbyterians and United Presbyterians.

The present principal is Miss Nancy Sherrard, of Steubenville, Ohio, and a daughter of its honored seminary. She has now passed into the second year of her administration, and already her educational and executive ability have been crowned with signal success. From depression the seminary has been raised to prosperity, and the fairest prospects illumine the path of its future. Its pupils exceed one hundred. The principal is ably assisted by Miss Mary McDonald, vice principal, and by a full corps of excellent teachers. She is also sustained by a board of eight trustees, incorporated by the State of Pennsylvania.

The BLAIRSVILLE FEMALE SEMINARY, in Indiana county, Pennsylvania, owes its origin, in the spring of 1851, to the practical views and purpose of the Rev. George Hill, D.D., who has been, for thirty-four years, the honored and useful pastor of the Presbyterian church at that place. By him, with the aid of several liberal gentlemen, its buildings were erected, and for a year and a half he acted as principal. He was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel H. Shepley, who, with the assistance of his wife, Mrs. Parmelia P. Shepley, conducted it through thirteen years with success and benefit; making a list of ninety-four graduates—a little more than an annual average of seven. Dr. Shepley passed to his reward during the last year. His successor, in 1865, was the Rev. James R. Hughes, now pastor of the Memorial Church of Dayton, Ohio, who was compelled, by domestic affliction, to surrender his prosperous management in a little more than two years. The present principal, the Rev. J. Jewett Parks, A.M., at the end of eight years of laborious and faithful service, has the highest esteem not only of his fifty-six graduates, but of the community and his patrons, and of educated visitors who have inspected his operations. The happy combination of physical comfort, mental drill, and moral and religious influence, both invites and deserves large patronage.

The HOLLIDAYSBURG SEMINARY for young ladies is nestled among the mountains of Pennsylvania, but thus far has drawn the larger part of its patronage from the Western counties. Its charter of 1866 resulted from a movement of sundry gentlemen in Hollidaysburg, led by their pastor, the Rev. David H. Barron, to secure the benefits of an education at once liberal and evangelical. Its patronage has from the first been almost exclusively Presbyterian, and it

has been self-sustaining. Its fine building and grounds, costing above $80,000, offer the best attractions of comfort and taste, whilst the internal management demonstrates its success, in the presence of one hundred and forty students the last year. The Rev. Joseph Waugh, Ph.D., an alumnus of Washington College, has been its principal from the beginning, nobly sustained by his accomplished wife, and assisted by ten teachers. Its present condition is said to be more satisfactory than that of any former time.

Last in this enumeration of female institutions comes the PENNSYLVANIA COLLEGE, which received its first impulse in 1869, from an offer of $20,000 from sundry gentlemen, for the purpose of establishing a seminary for young ladies in the East End of Pittsburgh. The condition was that the institution must be of the first class in educational facilities, and of sound and thorough religious influence. The President of the college, as well as a majority of the Trustees, must be members of some branch of the Presbyterian Church. The whole cost of the college property, located at Shadyside, has been $140,000. The other appliances also indicate high aims and progress. The Rev. James Black, D.D., its first President, was elected July 22, 1870, and brought with him, along with scholarly ability and untiring energy, the excellent reputation he had acquired as professor in Washington College, his Alma Mater, as Vice-president of Washington and Jefferson, and as President of the Iowa State University. At the end of five years, having accomplished, through the assistance of able teachers, a great work, he has resigned his place in order to accept the chair of Greek in Wooster University. The Rev. Thomas C. Strong, D.D., late Principal of Wells' Female College, at Aurora, New York, was chosen as his successor June 7th, 1875. He comes with a fine record of past success to confirm the testimony of his eminent qualifications for the responsible position. Sixty-five pupils wait upon the instructions of the college at the present time, and the prospect is regarded as bright with hope.

Let us come now, last of all, to the important subject of

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION.

Prior to the establishment of the seminaries at Princeton and Allegheny, by the General Assembly, professional instruction was given to candidates for the ministry by pastors, especially by such of them

PENNSYLVANIA FEMALE COLLEGE, EAST END, PITTSBURGH.

as, in the judgment of their brethren, were fitted for this work. A number of the early ministers of Western Pennsylvania performed such service for the church, and did it well. But from the first, until the infirmities of age gathered upon him, Dr. John McMillan was the generally accepted trainer of young preachers. Whatever his "Log Cabin" was or was not, it certainly was a theological school, to which the largest proportion of candidates, under the counsel of their pastors, resorted. His formal appointment as "Professor of Divinity" at the organization of Jefferson College, was simply an official designation of a work for the church, which he had been performing without reward for many years. Nor surely less honorable to the ability of his instructions, after a full trial of them, was the action of the Synod of Pittsburgh, in 1821, only twelve years before his death, and six years before the Western Theological Seminary went into operation, when, at the age of sixty-seven years, he could only view his life-work as mainly accomplished. That action is as follows, viz., "Whereas, it appears to this Synod that a number of promising young men, who are setting their faces towards the Gospel ministry, are not in circumstances to attend the Theological Seminary at Princeton; therefore, *Resolved*, That this Synod take measures for procuring a library for the benefit of such, to be under the control and direction of this Synod. That it be recommended to every member to solicit books or moneys for this important purpose, and that this library be located at present in the edifice of Jefferson College, at Canonsburg, and placed under the care of Rev. John McMillan, D.D., Professor of Theology in that Seminary." Here, surely, was a recognition above that of college Trustees, and only inferior to formal election by the General Assembly itself.

In his admirable history of the Presbytery of Erie, Dr. Eaton states that no less than twenty of the early ministers of that body received their professional instruction at the hands of Dr. McMillan. The late Matthew Brown, D.D., after careful examination, gave the number of his theological pupils at not less than one hundred. To such an extent did he preach through others, both while he lived and long after his own lips were sealed in death. He taught theology largely by means of a system carefully prepared by himself. Each student was required, in want of the benefit of printing, to

transcribe these "Lectures" from the manuscript. Whatever extent of research may have been embodied in that "system," its clearness and thoroughness are said to have reflected the strength of the great writers from whose pages the most accomplished professors to the present time also are not ashamed to draw discriminating knowledge. An illustrative incident of fifty years ago may not be out of place here. It was at a time when advancing years had led Dr. McMillan to seek rest, and when, to some extent, the succession, as a favorite professional instructor, had fallen upon the Rev. John Anderson, D.D., of Buffalo. A class consisting of William J. Frazer, Samuel McFarren, John Stockton, Wm. C. Anderson, James W. McKennan, David Colmery, John L. Hawkins, and Hugh W. Koontz—the most of whom afterwards rose to great eminence and usefulness—were anxious to have the use of Turretin as a text book, and Dr. Anderson, their instructor, was not less anxious for them. They knew not where they could purchase it, nor from whom they could borrow it, unless Dr. McMillan, the possessor of the only copy known to exist west of the mountains, could be induced to loan it to them. My friend, now Dr. Stockton, the venerable pastor at Cross Creek, was finally prevailed on to make the journey, and try his powers of persuasion. Timidity almost chilled the words upon his youthful lips in the presentation of the case, as he stood abashed in the presence of the venerable Doctor. But he was kindly entertained at his table, and came back in the gladness of triumph, with the coveted treasure in his saddle-bags, as precious as gold, given, too, with the patriarch's most benignant blessing. Is it not to be feared that in these days of multiplied facilities, eagerness for communion with Turretin has subsided, and that this and like masters in theology—perhaps for the lack of a fashionable English dress—are either wholly absent from a large proportion of ministers' libraries or left to cold neglect upon the shelf?

Almost one-half of the century we now commemorate, as to its work of theological education, is covered by the history of the WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. That history was fully written in connection with the Alumni Reunion of 1872,* and need not be

*The Committee of Publication, at the request of the Professors of the Seminary, has decided to reproduce that history in the present volume. It immediately follows this address. A. W.

repeated here, save only to make the acknowledgment of divine goodness, as still seen in the prosperity and progress of the Seminary. Let it ever stand as the true consummation and glory of the plans and work of McMillan and his associates, as well as of their honored and godly successors.

REFLECTIONS

upon the whole subject of these sketches may be safely left to those who have taken them into their minds. How little did the fathers of one hundred years ago, with all their faith, comprehend the abundant harvests of a century enfolded in the seeds they cast into the soil of the wilderness! When in their log cabins they led young men of rustic habits forward into the beauties of classic literature, a cloud covered from their vision the development which in three generations should not only fill the region of their self-denial with the fruits of culture, but, from that very region, too, send forth the abundant offerings of learning, science, and refinement, in hallowed union with religion, across the continent and to the ends of the earth. Thus now it is said of their children and successors as to Jacob and Israel of old, "*What hath God wrought!*" Only let ours and the generations to come ever walk in the footsteps of *their* devotion to truth, to God, and to the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ.

WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

Erected on Seminary Hill in 1830. Consumed by fire January 23. 1854

A HISTORY

OF THE

WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

AT

Allegheny City, Pa.

Being an Address Delivered in the Third Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, by

JAMES I. BROWNSON, D.D.,

Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Washington, Pa.

On the occasion of the Alumni Re-union, April 17th, 1872.

WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE mother to the sons, and the sons to the mother, in affectionate greeting! This is the spirit of the present occasion. Shall I report to the mother of her long absent children, who come from far and near, to offer thanksgiving and praise on the Lord's altar in her behalf, and pronounce her blessing upon them? Or shall I answer the inquiring love of the children, who sit once more in the familiar circle of the old homestead, to hear of the vicissitudes and experiences of the mother, whose name and honor have ever been carried in their hearts? Rejoicing in the birthright of a son, I shall aim to do both, confident, at least, that however imperfect the service, the tribute of affection is sure.

The decisive advance in our church, from ministerial training under pastors, to the higher system of the Theological Seminary, combining the advantages of distinguished professors, large libraries and the association of students, was made when the General Assembly, after deliberation and appeal to the Presbyteries, projected in 1810, and located in 1812, the Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey. Even then, there was a diversity of judgment upon the question of one Seminary for the whole church; or two for its chief sections; or as many as the Synods should see proper to establish and control. The first of these plans was adopted, but there was left a large sentiment opposed to centralization, and looking to the future need of the country, especially in "the great valley of the Mississippi." This found decisive expression in a resolution of the Assembly of 1825, that it was "expedient forthwith to establish a Theological Seminary in the West," to be styled "The Western

Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States." A Board of Directors, consisting of twenty-one ministers and nine ruling elders, was selected by ballot, to report the following year a suitable location, and such "alterations" in the plan of the Princeton Seminary as, in their judgment, might be "necessary to accommodate it to the local situation of the Western Seminary." Five commissioners were also chosen at the same time, to examine proposed sites, and, in view of their comparative healthfulness, offers of money and property, and other considerations, to report their opinion on the subject of location to the directors. These Commissioners were: General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; the Hon. Benjamin Mills, of Kentucky; the Hon. John Thompson, of Ohio; and the Rev. Messrs. Obadiah Jennings and Andrew Wylie, of Pennsylvania.

By appointment of the Assembly, the directors and Commissioners met simultaneously at Chillicothe, Ohio, on the 15th day of July, 1825. Some of the Commissioners were not present, and no record of the proceedings of that body was kept, except the fact that nothing was done besides the reception of proposals, and that they adjourned to meet in Washington, Pa., on the 20th of November ensuing. The Board of Directors was organized, and the following officers were chosen, viz., James Blythe, D.D., President; Francis Herron, D.D., First Vice-president; Rev. John Thompson, Second Vice-president; and Rev. Elisha P. Swift, Secretary. After a general discussion, an able circular, reported by Messrs. Thompson and Swift, was adopted, inviting further proposals for the site, and pledges of endowment from communities disposed to compete for the location. They then adjourned to meet in Wheeling, Va., on the third Thursday of April following—the time and place being chosen to suit the convenience of such of their number as might be commissioners to the next Assembly.

At the meeting in Wheeling, the Commissioners reported offers from various places, but declined to make any recommendation, as only three of their number, out of five, had been present at their meeting. Nine of these offers came from the State of Ohio, as follows, viz., West Union, Chillicothe, Springfield, New Richmond, Ripley and Georgetown, Lebanon, Decatur, Cincinnati, and Walnut Hills. Pennsylvania was represented by Meadville and Alle-

gheny. The only other offer came from Charleston, Indiana. In the affluence of these times, when business is conducted on a princely scale, when the rude cabin has given place to the stately mansion, and when the self-denials of pioneer life have passed over into general luxury, you must not smile at the inducements held forth forty-seven years ago to secure the benefits of a theological seminary, connected with one of the leading denominations of the country. Only four places went beyond $5,000, whilst most of the others fell much below that sum; and even then, portions of the subscriptions, in some cases, were to be paid "in trade;" a part of one was honestly confessed to be "of doubtful collection;" and the whole of another was to bear six per cent. interest, "until the subscribers should think it expedient to pay the principal." Cincinnati offered a lot of ground valued at $17,000, encumbered, however, with a debt of $3,000. Charleston tendered a guaranty of eighteen acres, valued at $100 per acre, and $10,000 in cash, "to put the seminary in operation." Walnut Hills offered thirty acres, in three parcels, estimated at $6,000. In behalf of the location which ultimately carried the day, the proposal was a donation of $21,000, in instalments, together with the release of eighteen acres of "common," for use, worth, in fee simple, about $20,000. But Allegheny was not then the city of to-day, with a population of 60,000, palatial residences, fine churches, beautiful parks, street cars, charitable institutions, and complete municipal appointments, but a village, containing seven hundred people, nestling on the river side, which, to be identified in these very transactions, had to be described as "Alleghenytown, opposite Pittsburgh." It was not even a borough then, but a part of Ross township, and only rose to the dignity of a city in 1840, with a population of 10,000. Even her older "smoky" sister, which furnished, doubtless, the most of this pecuniary offer, has increased at least twelvefold in size, and advanced to the front rank among the cities of the Union, in the average wealth of her citizens.

The first vote of the Board was taken upon West Union, Ohio. when James Blythe, D.D., and John T. Edgar, of Kentucky, with Robert G. Wilson, D.D., James Hoge, and James Culbertson, of Ohio, voted *yea;* and Francis Herron, D.D., Matthew Brown, D.D., Obadiah Jennings, and Elisha Swift, of Pennsylvania, together with

Randolph Stone and Donald McIntosh, of Ohio, and William Wylie, of Virginia, ministers, and John Milligan, the only ruling elder present, voted *nay*. The next vote was taken upon Allegheny, which precisely reversed the former, both in number and names, the proportion being eight for and five against that place.

The following members were absent, some of whom had been at the former meeting in Chillicothe, viz., Gideon Blackburn, D.D., John Thompson, John Seward, William Speer, Murdock Murphy, Duncan Brown, James Scott, and Allan D. Campbell, ministers, and Matthew B. Lowrie, George Plumer, Edward Ward, Walter Dunn, Samuel T. McCracken, Thomas P. Smith, David Hudson, and Thomas Skillman, ruling elders. The vote thus taken was largely sectional, and represented the opposite views held, both in the Assembly and out of it; on the one hand, in favor of a location in the midst of a population prepared to sustain the institution, leaving the planting of Seminaries further West to other generations; and on the other, in favor of some place central to the great West, for all time to come, with little regard to present need and support. How hidden from the sight of these wise fathers was the progress by which Ohio has long since ceased to be a frontier, or even a Western State!

The minority recorded a "solemn dissent" from the action taken, expressing their opinion also, that it "would not promote the benevolent wish of the Assembly," as well as their "regret, that in the absence of the Directors belonging to the Synod of Tennessee, and the greatest part of those appointed from the Synods of Kentucky and Ohio, the members from the Synod of Pittsburgh, with one from the Reserve Synod, have, by their votes, recommended Alleghenytown for the proposed seminary." This dissent was as *solemnly* answered by the majority, who declared that the deficiency in all the pecuniary offers of the South and West left it doubtful whether an institution of the kind contemplated could be carried into effective operation, for many years to come, in any of those places. They further emphatically urged that "the vast extent of what is called the valley of the Mississippi, the variety of its climates, and the different manners, customs, and habits of its population, all conspired to produce and force upon the minds of the majority the conviction that no single Seminary, wherever located, can ever com-

bine the strength or supply the wants of such a numerous, widespread, and mixed population." They were, therefore, "compelled by a sense of duty," to select the place where such a Seminary was most needed, and which would combine the greatest advantages, and promised the greatest immediate benefits to the cause of piety in the Presbyterian Church.

Thus ended the skirmish. The divided recommendation of the directors only transferred the real battle into the General Assembly. How earnest it was, will appear from the fact that the Assembly of 1826, instead of adopting the Board's report, postponed the decision for a year, by passing the resolution, "That the Western Theological Seminary shall be located either in Alleghenytown, in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, or at Walnut Hills, in the vicinity of Cincinnati, or at Charleston, Indiana, as the General Assembly of 1827 shall decide." The resolution, as at first proposed, simply bound the Assembly to a location "at some point on the Ohio river." But it was brought to definite specification by the wit of Dr. Obadiah Jennings, illustrated by the well told story of a letter, sent by mail from the Emerald Isle, to some friend Patrick, addressed as "residing in Pennsylvania, or elsewhere in the United States of America."

The final struggle took place in the Assembly of 1827, when, Charleston having been withdrawn, the roll was called, and Allegheny received a majority of two votes over Walnut Hills. This result was not a little due to the earnest advocacy of the venerable Dr. Ashbel Green, who was ever a warm friend of this Seminary, though also President of the Board of Princeton, and, as Chairman of the committee, the writer of its original "Plan." The Moderator, our own venerable Dr. Herron, calling another to the Chair, made an effective speech, after which, under an immediate call for "*the question*," he was enabled to confirm his eloquence with his vote. The hot zeal of the opposition muttered some hints more complimentary to the Dr.'s sagacity than to his fairness, in leaving the chair at the crisis of decision. But these found a prompt refutation, both in his high character and in the manifest impossibility of knowing when the vote would be taken. The witnesses of that great debate report the advocates of Allegheny as doing full justice to the resources of this matchless region, to the prospective importance of a city which must ever be the key to the great Western valley, and

to the thorough and compact Presbyterianism having its centre here. They were especially rapturous in describing the three picturesque valleys, watered by as many noble rivers, upon which the Seminary would look down from its proud elevation of more than one hundred feet above the point of confluence. Even the hill itself—dropping, of course, the poetry of its time-honored name—was uncovered to view, with the future charm of its commanding altitudes, its beautiful drives and walks, its rounded symmetry, and the terraces, arbors, and fountains which would adorn its sides. But these artistic ornaments, set in the brow of nature are even yet in *prophecy*—bequeathed now, for fulfilment, to the county of Allegheny, in honor of her citizen soldiery in the second war for independence, whose beautiful monument, crowning those aerial heights, shall stir the patriotic pride of coming generations.

The strife for location was now ended. Let us, therefore, turn to the longer and harder struggle of establishment. The Board of Directors, appointed by the Assembly of 1827, consisted of Francis Herron, D.D., Ashbel Green, D.D., Samuel Ralston, D.D., Matthew Brown, D.D., Andrew Wylie, Obadiah Jennings, Elisha P. Swift, William Speer, Elisha McCurdy, Francis McFarland, Thomas E. Hughes, Thomas Barr, Joseph Treat, Thomas D. Baird, James Graham, Robert Johnson, William Jeffrey, and Charles C. Beatty, ministers; and Matthew B. Lowrie, John Hannen, J. M. Snowden, Benjamin Williams, Aaron Kerr, Thomas Henry, Samuel Thompson, and Reddick McKee, ruling elders. The late death of Dr. William Jeffrey leaves the President of the Board, Charles C. Beatty, D.D., LL.D., the only surviving minister of that noble company. Reddick McKee, Esq., also from among the honored elders, alone survives. At the first meeting following their appointment, Dr. Herron was elected President—an office he held, by annual re-election, until his death, Dec. 6, 1860. Mr. Speer was made Vice-president, Dr. Ralston, Second Vice-president, Dr. E. P. Swift, Secretary, and Michael Allen, Esq. (not a member of the board), Treasurer. At a subsequent meeting in October following, modifications of the plan of Princeton Seminary, subject to the Assembly's approval, were agreed upon. One change was made, less in substance than in words, to give greater distinctness and emphasis to the conviction, which was to be the watchword in this whole enterprise, viz., "That

learning, without religion, in the ministers of the Gospel, will prove injurious to the Church: and religion without learning, will leave the ministry exposed to the impositions of designing men, and insufficient, in a high degree, for the great purposes of the Gospel ministry." Such was the auspicious beginning.

From this salient point, let us pursue the history, for the sake of clearness and despatch, in distinct branches. The first of these shall be

THE GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS.

One of the first movements of the Board was to appoint a building committee, and to instruct them "to erect, as soon as possible, an edifice not exceeding the dimensions of the Seminary at Princeton, three stories high;" and the subscriptions from Pittsburgh and Allegheny were, with the consent of the donors, to be set apart for this purpose. Instructions were further given to erect the edifice "on the centre of the hill," provided the cost, including excavation and leveling, would not be more than $1,000 above what it would be on the eastern section. In the end, this excess is said to have been at least six times the sum named! The decision in favor of this summit outlook was not made without strong opposition, led by Dr. Matthew Brown. A far better situation still, a short distance westward, on grounds now occupied by heirs of the late John T. Logan, Esq., and others, with an area of ten acres, was offered at $1,000, and its purchase was urged, especially by the late John Irwin, Esq., who proposed to be one of ten to make it a gift. But it was declined, partly because the leaders were committed to the eminence, and partly from the fear of forfeiting the lease of the eighteen acres, originally offered to the Assembly, and accepted. A portion of the very ground, thus declined, has lately been sold at $200 per foot. Notwithstanding the good intentions, the mistake, then made, is clear to us; yet let us modestly remember that our wisdom is "after the fact."

Even this was not the most serious mistake. It seldom requires less than bitter experience to expose the common error, that the success of a public institution is assured by expensive buildings, even without provision for its current expenses. Such bitterness was not wanting in this case. The first strength and ardor were expended in brick and mortar. Even here, unexpected difficulties

arose. The delay and expense of preparation, the tardy supply of means, and an unfavorable re-action in the sentiment of the surrounding community, hindered a beginning of the foundations until the Spring of 1829. Most serious of all, was the trouble arising about the title to the grounds. They had been a part of the Common of Allegheny, but the citizens had severally released the right of open *pasture*, which was the only right attaching to their lots, and the Legislature of the State, which held all other rights, had donated them for the perpetual use of the Seminary. The three original Trustees designated in the grant to hold for this purpose, until such a time as a Board of Trustees might be incorporated, were James Brown, Hugh Davis, and John Hannen. The last two have passed away from among the living; the first lingers on the borders of the Spirit Land—in his 94th year. It was rumored, about this time, that there were certain parties who had not released their *right of pasture on the Common!* One such brought a suit, on this ground, to overturn the transaction, but the Court ruled him out, on the ground of his consent by silence. A most zealous search discovered one case of a *minor*, in whose behalf there had been no relinquishment, and this was effectually used to give force to a hostility which repeated itself in acts of violence, in suits of injunction to restrain improvement and use of the grounds, and in other vexations, extending over many years, until the question was settled by compromise, in 1846, on the payment of $1,500, for the sake of peace. Without this annoyance, the Seminary might have been made almost self-sustaining, through the lease of lots, in the very years of its hardest struggle for life. It was not strange, that under such a pressure, the Board met on March 10th, 1829, to consider the propriety of suspending the erection on the hill, and of substituting a modest structure, 50 by 36 feet, of three stories, on the north-east corner of the ground.

But men of faith then were no more to be hindered in the Lord's work than was Nehemiah in his day. Certain streets were ordered to be laid out, in concession to public clamor. The work of procuring releases from any who might not have given them was renewed. But the building must go on, and Joseph Patterson, Esq., was appointed to superintend it; which he nobly did, releasing his salary for its furtherance. And thus, at last, the Seminary began

to rise upon its foundations. But instead of *cut stone*, as had been determined a year before, its outer walls appeared in less pretentious brick, whilst for the inner walls, the rude stone dug in the process of excavation was deemed sufficient. It was ready for use early in the spring of 1831, for purposes of recitation, and on March 29th, of that year, the students ascended to the possession of the lodging rooms prepared for them. Until then, they had boarded as they could in the city, and received sound theology in the session room at the rear of the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh.

The building was commodious. It consisted of a central edifice, sixty feet in length by fifty in breadth, of four stories, having at each front a portico "adorned with Corinthian columns," and a cupola in the centre; and also two wings, of three stories each, fifty feet by twenty-five. It contained a chapel of forty-five feet by twenty-five, with a gallery of like dimensions for the library; suits of rooms for professors, rooms for the steward, and about eighty dormitories for students. The cost of the whole was but little short of $25,000, even in those cheap times. But, alas! the unplastered walls of many of its rooms, as well as its rude walks and unadorned grounds, told the story, for many years, that the Presbyterians of Western Pennsylvania were more given to faith than works. Yet, such as it was, it is to many of us here to-night, associated in memory with venerable professors, who led us to the precious treasures of God's truth, and also, with beloved class-mates, joined to us in study, counsel, and prayer, as we strove together to become "able ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit."

That structure fulfilled its purpose until January 23d, 1854, when, under a mysterious Providence, a calamitous fire, originating in a manner unknown, broke forth near the roof, during intensely cold weather, and levelled it with the ground. Most of the students were at supper at the time, and lost even their clothing and books. The library was greatly damaged, besides the destruction of a large part of it. The Halsey library, being on the lower story, was chiefly rescued. The First Church of Allegheny generously tendered its capacious lecture and Sabbath-school rooms for the recitations of the classes, and the offer was thankfully accepted. A like generous invitation was given by the Second Church of Pittsburgh. Much

hospitality was also extended to the students, and a liberal subscription was made for their relief.

The time of the conflagration seemed providential. Negotiations between the city and the Seminary, frequently attempted before, had come to consummation in a deed dated December 3, 1849, and acknowledged August 27, 1850, by which all of the land granted by the State in 1827, except about one acre, was passed over to the city, under the obligation of a *perpetual lease*, with the right reserved, however, to use the old building for three years, with free access to it, and then to remove its materials. On the other hand, the city became bound to the Seminary for $35,000, in the form of a *perpetual loan*, with an interest per annum of $2,100, to be paid semi-annually, on the first days of January and July, from and after July 1st, 1850, without any deduction or abatement whatever, on account of any taxes, charges, or assessments on or for the reserved lot and the buildings which might be erected thereon. The terms of payment are refreshing, after the experience of intervening years in salaries and other transactions, under the standard of paper currency. Our good Trustees, not being without some experience of the uncertainty of human affairs, stipulated in the bond that this semi-annual interest should for ever be paid in "*lawful silver money of the United States, each dollar weighing seventeen pennyweights and six grains, at least.*" Time has justified their conviction that a *little* "worldly wisdom," rightly tempered, is not without its use.

The three years of occupation had expired when the fire occurred, and thus the crisis for building was doubly attested, but the old materials were gone. In lieu of them, an insurance of $5,000 became the nucleus of a construction fund, the balance of which was promptly supplied by subscriptions, and the new edifice was in due time completed, without debt, at a cost of a little over $22,000. It is beautifully situated on the centre of the reserved site, with the addition of a lot purchased from the Rev. Dr. McGill. The grounds front on Ridge and Marshall Streets, 216 feet by 200 on Irwin Avenue, and were valued at 16,000. The new building was partially used in the fall of 1855, but its formal dedication took place January 10, 1856, when in the absence of Dr. Herron (on account of sickness), the dedicatory prayer was offered by the Vice-president of the Board, Dr. Swift, and an address, full of grateful memories

WESTMINSTER ABBEY, FROM DEAN'S YARD.

and of high trust in God, was delivered by the Senior Professor, Dr. Elliott. On this occasion there was joy, not unlike that of the returned captives of Israel over the second temple, but probably none "wept with a loud voice," like many of the priests, Levites, and chief of the fathers then, "who had seen the first house." The edifice was "not so large as the old one"—the reduction being chiefly in dormitories and culinary conveniences—but it was "much superior in location, arrangement, accommodation, and general fitness for the purpose contemplated." What was gained in the inspiration of study may be left among the unsettled questions of history, between later and earlier generations of the alumni. The Seminary, at least, "makes more noise in the world," in its new location, by means of a fine bell, of 300 lbs. weight, presented in 1859, by the Second Street Presbyterian Church, of Troy, N. Y., through its pastor, the Rev. D. Kennedy, D.D. And *punctuality* ought to be impressed by means of the handsome *regulator clock*, presented by Seymour Hoyt, Esq., of New York.

The same crisis of trial which hastened the erection of the new Seminary became associated also with home accommodations for the Professors and students. The erection of houses for these purposes had often been under consideration before, but like the project of leasing lots for the sake of revenue, to relieve the habitual stress of poverty, its postponement was invariable, owing to the open question of title. In July, 1843, the specifications of Boyd & Murdock, for two Professors' houses, were accepted by the executive committee; but in less than a month the work had to be stopped, and damages paid to the contractors, on account of opposition manifesting itself through the city councils. But now, at last, the way was clear. Before the occurrence of the fire, arrangements were made for two Professors' houses, and their actual completion shortly afterwards, in 1854, on the western end of the reserved site, was followed some two years later, or shortly after the erection of the Seminary itself, by that of two other like residences at the opposite end. These houses are tasteful and comfortable. Their cost was about $5,000 each, or less than half their present value. The generous offer of $600 for each of them, like many another inducement from the same source in the history of this enterprise, led other donors, chiefly in these two cities, to supply the balance of

the requisite funds. The only exception was in the case of the house erected for the venerable Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology, Dr. Elliot, for which a sum nearly sufficient, in addition to the $600 already named, was realized from the sale of a tract of land in Mercer county, Pa., which had been donated in 1839 for this specific purpose, through the Professor himself, by James S. Spencer, Esq., of Philadelphia. By this admirable arrangement for the comfort of the Professors, another pledge of stability and progress was gained.

But like unto this, and even more assuring of success, was the erection, in 1859, on the north side of Ridge Street, of Beatty Hall, fitly named in honor of the Christian generosity of the donor, Mrs. Hetty E. Beatty, of Steubenville, Ohio, whose gift of $10,000 for this purpose, covering the cost of the building, enabled the Trustees to make this handsome provision of students' dormitories. The whole cost, including the lot, was $15,000. It is a fine building, in the main, of four stories, originally containing eighty-one single rooms, the whole building being supplied with gas and water fixtures. It was remodeled in 1868, at a cost of $3,586, so as to increase the size and comfort of the rooms by a reduction of their number, and the funds for this purpose were mostly raised through appeals of Professors Jacobus and Hodge to eastern friends. The furniture of these rooms, as well as of those of the Seminary building, for the same purpose, was mainly supplied by the generosity of churches and individuals.

Nor even yet are we through with this branch of the subject, until we refer to the fire-proof Library building, whose corner-stone has just been laid amidst such signal demonstrations of affection on the part of the assembled alumni. Its cost of $25,000, has been provided for by the sale of lots, which have appreciated in value. Within it will henceforth be found, in new conditions of safety and attraction, the collection of more than ten thousand volumes of the general library, including all that were saved from the fire of those collected by Dr. A. D. Campbell, in Europe, in 1829, and also of the "Henry Library," a valuable assortment, rich in historical and exegetical works, gathered in Europe by the Rev. Charlton Henry, of Charleston, S. C., and donated to the Seminary in June, 1828, after his death, by his father, Alexan-

LIBRARY HALL

BEATTY'S WALK

der Henry, Esq., of Philadelphia, through the influence of Dr. Herron. Extensive additions have been made from time to time, especially since the conflagration, by voluntary gifts and legacies, and through solicitation of the Professors and others. The "Halsey Library," which contains, in addition, two thousand volumes, with a fine supply of Patristic and Biblical literature, was deposited for the special use of the Professors, in 1852, by the honored ex-Professor whose name it bears, and now, by a consummated liberality, on prescribed conditions, it becomes a possession. Thus we have a nucleus of twelve thousand volumes. Hereafter, neither the hearts nor eyes of visitors will be without hopeful appeals for contribution to the attractive shelves which shall contain these treasures. Nor, as we trust, shall the library fund of $5,000, the fruit of insurance upon the library, taken before the fire, fail to be so replenished and increased, as to secure an ever-enlarging supply of the best theological works of the age.

Let us now turn back from this high progress in one line of our history, to trace, over the same years, the still greater struggle to provide for

CURRENT EXPENSES.

The establishment of the Seminary, in 1827, included the election of a Professor. The known readiness of several students to enter the institution was still another reason for beginning operations at once. Several members of the Board, and other persons, were, therefore, appointed to canvass prescribed fields and raise funds for present use and general endowment. But in this, as in the building fund, great discouragements had to be met. The West and South were much alienated by failure to secure the location. Even some friends of the enterprise in this region had, in part, concurred with them on that question. In the East, there were some willing to help, but other interests first claimed their attention, and besides, they naturally waited to see what would be done at home. The burden fell chiefly on the Synod of Pittsburgh, which then embraced nearly all of Western Pennsylvania and Western Virginia, as well as a large part of Eastern Ohio. But the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of this favored region, were not then, as they are not now, quite so remarkable for the rush of enthusiasm, as for steadfast orthodoxy. Some churches and individuals responded to

the first call with reasonable liberality, whilst many more were delinquent. After the first few appeals, many sank into comparative inaction. The expense of excavating the hill was a soothing plea to some. Others had to be educated with difficulty up to the practical idea of sustaining a "school of the prophets," without charge for tuition. Others still were misled by injudicious agents, who, for the sake of a present liberality, were wont to comfort avarice with the promise of exemption from like future appeals. The "last appeal" never came; and God forbid it ever should, until the judgment day. For a long time, the chairs were only partially filled, and the Professors had the triple benefit of extra service, low salaries, and agencies, in vacation, to raise money for their own bread. Every one of the first twenty-five years was a *solemn crisis* of life or death. Nearly every meeting of the Board, and of the Synod, was held in the presence of an *emergency*. The Assembly, representing the whole Church, exercised control and voted appropriations, but the money had to be raised here at home, with only occasional help from abroad. It was raised only by means of incessant vigilance and effort on the part of those having the great interest at heart. Indeed, so discouraging was the apathy of the Church at large, that from 1831 to 1836, several movements were made in the board towards asking the Assembly to transfer the whole management to the Synod, so as to secure *its* full interest at least. It is due to truth to record the fact, that far in the lead of all other Churches, and equal, in benefactions, to all the rest of the Synod itself, was the noble old First Church of Pittsburgh, led on by its heroic pastor, Dr. Herron, whose faltering, at any time during these early years, would have been certain death. His moral influence, in sustaining the sinking spirits of others, and the force of his name and efforts abroad, in securing contributions, were only less than the power wielded among his own people. By his side stood his faithful friend and parishioner, Michael Allen, the Treasurer of the Seminary, who, to his gratuitous service, added untiring vigilance and the offerings of an open purse, though not without very intelligible protests against the parsimony of the churches.

The resorts to meet these ever-recurring emergencies would make a long chapter of details, but the time is too short, and the story would be too uniform for present interest. Annual contributions

were made by the willing churches. Temporary agencies were created, and, for five years, ending in 1840, Dr. A. D. Campbell, ever an earnest and faithful friend of the Seminary, besides being an instructor in church government, was a general agent. Appeals, by letter, were made to distant friends, some of which brought timely help; in the case of James Lenox, Esq., and a few others, those appeals were often repeated, and as often honored. One such crisis may be taken as representative. In 1839, the liabilities of the treasury were $7,807.66, of which $2,855 was due to the Professors, and the channels of income were dry. At the request of the board, Dr. Elliott went to Philadelphia, as a beggar, in the last extremity. On the day of his arrival the banks had suspended specie payment, and business was collapsed. Yet, his personal influence secured a subscription, in money, of $5,256.50, payable in four annual instalments, and the title to a tract of land in Mercer county, before mentioned. It was under this stimulus that the good old Synod came again to the rescue, and became responsible, by formal pledge, for the support of the Seminary for five years. Thus, as many times before and afterwards, light broke through the dark clouds.

It was as the period of five years, just mentioned, approached completion, that a movement was made as a last resort, which, in its final success, by the blessing of God, carried the institution into assured life. All of the old methods of sustentation had been exhausted. Accummulated capital, regular and special donations, and, indeed, all available supplies, had melted away in current expenses. Each rally, hitherto, had only postponed the evil day of suspension, and suspension would forfeit the title to the property. Every visible token was discouraging, except the high character of the Professors, and the presence of more than fifty noble candidates for the ministry in our halls. So the case stood in 1843, when the Rev. Richard Lea, an ardent alumnus, prompted, it is said, by his wife, as good men generally are, and sustained by his Elder, Malcomb Leech, Esq., proposed, first in the Presbytery of Ohio, then in the Synod of Pittsburgh, and at last, after signal failure in both, through the columns of the *Presbyterian Advocate*, the scheme of a permanent endowment of two professorships, at $25,000 each, with the expectation that at least one more could be secured by a sale of the land. A favorable response appeared soon, over the signature of

John C. Plumer, Esq., of West Newton. The Presbyteries, led by the mother Presbytery, Redstone, discussed and strongly recommended the plan. It was adopted by the Directors, at a meeting, June 12th, 1844. The notable provisions of the form of subscription were: *first*, that the principal should be intact, and the interest only expended; and *second*, that the fund was to be forfeited to the donors, or their heirs, if ever a change should be made in the formula required to be subscribed by the Professors, at their inauguration, "whereby the Confession of Faith and catechisms of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, are now adopted, *ex animo*, to be received and taught by the said Professors." Theodore H. Nevin, Esq., was appointed Assistant Treasurer, with special charge of this fund. A Board of Trustees was chartered to hold and manage the money. The Synod of Pittsburgh took up the matter vigorously at its next meeting. Its roll was called, and many of the Ministers and Elders pledged themselves for $50 each, under a scheme suggested in the *Advocate* by "Wyandotte," understood to be the Rev. George Hill, who had been an "agent," under the old system, just long enough to prepare him for "a new departure." Mr. Lea was recommended by the Synod as an agent for temporary service, and afterwards appointed permanently by the Board, to carry out the plan, and, with the consent of his church—the Professors agreeing to supply his pulpit—he spent three years in this service, without charge. Mr. Allen headed his book with a subscription of $1,000, and a non-communicant paid his traveling expenses for the first year. The Rev. John Kerr, another alumnus, by request did a like service in the Synod of Wheeling. The Professors relinquished a portion of their dues, and also, afterwards, agreed to a temporary reduction of their salaries, from $1,500 to $1,200, in the same spirit. Appeals through the pulpit and the press, vigorous personal efforts, repeated again and again on the same ground, and all the influence of ecclesiastical appliances were needed for success. It came at last, after a struggle of not less than half a dozen years!

But these very years were marked with harder conflicts, and darker clouds, than ever before or since. The very concentration upon endowment turned away the supplies of present want. Debts accumulated, the Professors were often paid with borrowed money,

sometimes with bonds, and oftener still, were obliged to incur debts for the means of living, in anticipation of a replenished Treasury. Financial embarrassments thickened, until, notwithstanding internal prosperity, the question of disbanding was forced home upon the Directors with more power than ever before. Rumors of such a probable result were industriously circulated. It added greatly, also, to these troubles, that a movement was made in 1847, at New Albany, Indiana, to transfer our Seminary, with one or more of its Professors, to the Seminary located there, and that a similar movement at Cincinnati, in 1849–50, aimed at the absorption of both New Albany and Allegheny at that place. It was even found necessary for the Assembly of 1850 to pass a formal resolution, declaring the Seminary to be "permanently fixed in its present location," so as to quiet the injurious clamors thus raised. It is not wonderful that in this great uncertainty, discouragement so came upon the Directors themselves, that a resolution offered by one of the firmest friends, to dispose of the property, pay off the debts, and close the doors, was seriously and painfully discussed. "While the resolution was pending," says the record, written by the lamented Comingo, "sadness and sorrow, darker than the intervening night, filled many hearts." But a key of hope was struck, when, in the opening speech of the next morning, a good Elder, after the tossings of a sleepless night, announced *his* readiness to "trust in the Lord, and go forward." His counsel prevailed, and the light of a brighter day soon came. From the high prosperity of later years, we look back with wonder at the patient endurance of those believing and prayerful men!

The sale of the grounds added another endowed chair to those secured, as we have just seen. The endowment of a fourth professorship was started in 1856, and brought to final completion in 1863, when the eyes of the Treasurer must have glowed, as, balancing his columns, which showed $100,000 of unencumbered endowment, joined with other like prosperity, he appended the unwonted statement, "The endowment fund is completed, and the Seminary is out of debt." Following this, too, is the record of another advance, when, in 1866, the Trustees reported an addition of $30,000 to the permanent funds, by means of private subscriptions, led by the Presidents of the two Boards, Dr. Beatty and James Laughlin, Esq., at $5,000 each, for the double purpose of securing an ade-

quate contingent fund, and of raising the productiveness of each of the four professorships, to $2,000 a year. Nor, even yet, is this recital complete, until we mention the joint endowment of the "Re-union Professorship," by Dr. Beatty and his wife, to the amount of $50,000, tendered and accepted in 1870, on the condition that the incumbent shall "not be a pastor." And this munificent gift is but an addition to $27,000, bestowed before by the same liberal hands. To this completed endowment of *five* Professorships, it is pleasant to add one of a Tutorship in Hebrew, to the amount of $5,000, contributed by the Central Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, under the care of Dr. Jacobus, as a part of its "Memorial" offering. Other "Re-union" gifts, for different uses, were made to a considerable extent. The scholarship fund, of $39,000, pledged for the support of nineteen students, the sustentation fund, of nearly $4,000, the interest of which is used, under the discretion of the Professors, to aid those who are straitened, and the contingent fund, of $20,000, all enter into the evidences of present prosperity. The whole endowment fund now amounts to $187,000. And it is a simple debt of justice to record the grateful fact that, through the vigilance of Mr. Nevin, who has been Treasurer of all of these endowment funds from the beginning, in 1842, and of all other funds since 1848, not a dollar of them has been lost by injudicious investment, or otherwise. This is the point unto which we have now attained. In the contrast with former poverty and struggle, we have no reasons for boasting, but every reason for thanksgiving to the Head of the Church. *Progress* is thus demonstrated to be the law of the Seminary's life; only let it be greater in the future, and ever worthy of such a birthright, at such a time as this.

It is now time for us to pass to the *inner* life of our beloved seminary, as represented first and mainly in its

PROFESSORS.

In this subjective branch of the subject, the impossibility of detail and incident will make it easy to fulfill the desire for condensation and brevity. Yet here we have, beneath the exposed surface, a history vastly more important than any thus far brought out. The character and efficiency of a theological seminary depends far less

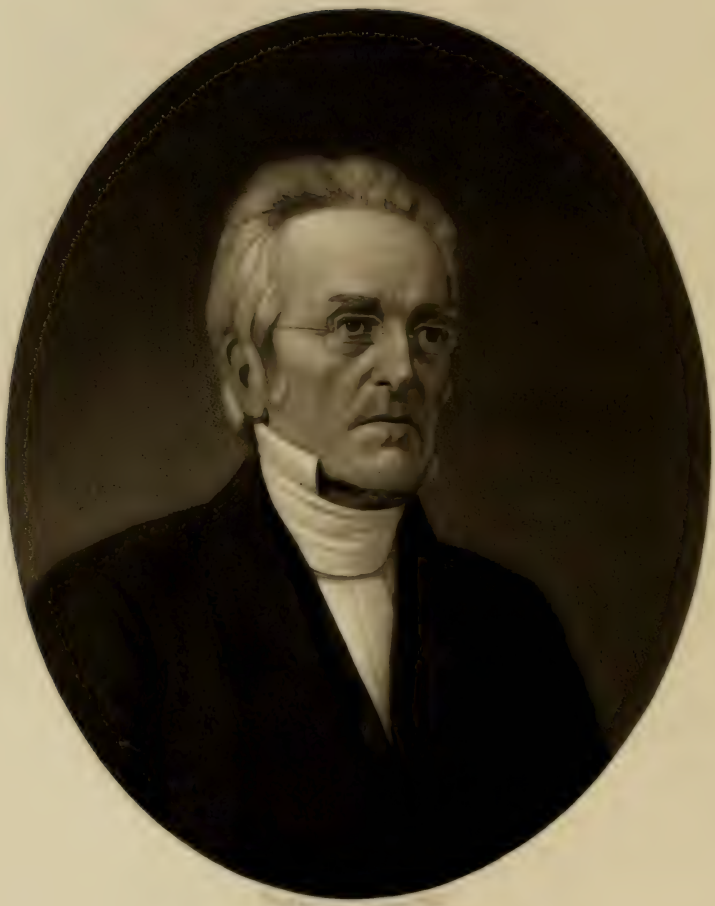
upon pecuniary resources, and outward facilities, than upon the ability, aims, and fidelity of the men who impart its instructions, embody its spirit, lead and stimulate its movements, and become the models of its students. Nothing is more certain than that the piety, scholarship, habits, manners, temper, and force of the Professors, are largely reproduced, in kind and degree, in their pupils. We have all known how easy it is, often, to identify a young minister as the son of a certain Seminary, or as the admiring student of a particular Professor, by his style of thought and expression, as well as his attitudes, tones, and gestures. Alas! the defects common in such a case are even more likely to be copied than the excellencies. When the *fundamental* qualities of an efficient ministry enter, for weal or woe, into this vast personal influence, the interest of the Church in the fitness of our Theological Instructors is beyond calculation. These, more than any other men, must mould the ministry, and ultimately the Church itself.

Happily this part of our record abounds in reasons for gratitude to the Head of the Church, and there is no part of it which we would wish to blot. The Assembly of 1827, which located the Seminary, also elected the Rev. Jacob Jones Janeway, D.D., then a pastor in Philadelphia, Professor of Theology. He was the only candidate nominated, yet it is not without interest now, that in counting the ballots, it was discovered, much to his own surprise, at least, that the Rev. David Elliott, a member of that Assembly from the Presbytery of Carlisle, had received five votes. It was doubtless the shadow of a coming event. The Professor elect, in a subsequent letter to the Board, declined the appointment, but, upon urgency and reflection, changed his mind, and signified his acceptance to the next Assembly. Meanwhile the Board, in view of the public expectation, and the known readiness of several students to commence their studies, appointed the Rev. Elisha P. Swift, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, to give instruction in theology, and the Rev. Joseph Stockton, in Hebrew. In fact, the former took entire charge for the winter session, commencing November 16, 1827, and the latter for the summer session following, there being *four* students, in all, under their charge, viz., Thomas Beer, Isaac T. Bennet, Alfred Hamilton, and Joseph Reed, of whom Brother Beer alone remains to tell the story of that first-born class. One year later, on

the arrival of the regular Professor, they were joined by Alexander M. McJunkin, the noble and beloved Alexander B. Brown, afterwards the eloquent preacher, and honored President of Jefferson College, together with our two excellent brethren, the Rev. Adam Torrence, and Aaron Williams, D.D., whom we affectionately greet on this occasion.

Dr. Janeway was inaugurated on the 16th of October, 1828, in the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, during the sessions of the Synod, Drs. McMillan, Herron, Brown, Ralston, and Swift taking part in the services, and on the next evening he delivered his inaugural address. Dr. John McDowell, then of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, had been elected by the previous Assembly, to the Chair of Church History and Government, but had declined. Dr. Janeway conducted the instructions, during the winter, with the aid of his son, Thos. L. Janeway, so well known since as Secretary of the Board of Domestic Missions, but tendered his resignation to the Assembly of 1829, and returned to Philadelphia. His chief reason given, was the fear of trouble arising out of doubtful title to the property; but it was, also, privately whispered that his family did not fully unite with the Pittsburghers, in loving their city, as old ham is loved, in proportion as it is has been *smoked!* In the want of a Professor, the students were dismissed for that summer.

The same Assembly which released Dr. Janeway found a most worthy successor in the person of the Rev. Luther Halsey, D.D., then Professor of Natural Philosophy in New Jersey College, at Princeton. His inauguration took place in the Second Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, on the evening of October 19, 1829, when the Rev. William Jeffrey preached, and the Rev. Thomas Hoge delivered the charge to the Professor. His inaugural address was delivered in the First Church the next evening. His plan for conducting the studies was at once laid before the Board, and approved, and he entered upon the vigorous prosecution of his work. Soon after the opening of the session, Mr. John W. Nevin, a native of Shippensburg, Pa., who, after his graduation in Princeton Seminary, had conducted, for some two years, the Chair of Biblical and Oriental Literature in that institution, during the absence of the Professor, Dr. Charles Hodge, in Europe, entered upon his duties as Instructor, in the same department here, by appointment of the



D. Elliott

Board. Besides the six students of the former session, who returned, nine new students entered, some of whom, even yet, hold a high place in the service and honor of the Church. They were as follows, viz., James Anderson, John C. Lowrie, A. D. Pollock, Loyal Young, Wm. Reed, Joseph S. Wylie, Robert Glenn, James Wilson, and Thomas A. Carothers. Thus equipped, the Seminary went forward with marked success, in everything save the struggle for funds. The instructions were able; the attendance of students surpassed expectations; the spirit of piety and of missionary consecration compared most favorably with that of any other institution; and large benefits began to be realized, not only in this region, but over the whole Church and in the foreign field. A solemn affliction, however, was endured, in the death of Dr. Ezra Fisk, at Philadelphia, December 5, 1833, while on his way hither to assume the Chair of History, to which he had been chosen by the previous Assembly.

The Assembly of 1836 sanctioned and confirmed the transfer of Dr. Halsey from the department of Theology to that of Church History and Government, and placed in the former chair the Rev. David Elliott, then pastor of the church of Washington, Pennsylvania. The previous Assembly had elected Dr. Elliott to the vacant Chair of History; but he had declined. His chief reason was his reluctance to undergo separation from a church with which his relations were most affectionate. Added to this, also, was the fact that whilst, of course, mastery of the department proposed was within his reach, his studies and tastes had been in another direction. The Board, however, urged again and again his reconsideration of the subject. Professor Halsey, in a manly and brotherly letter to Dr. Elliott, expressed a strong desire for his acceptance. How the question was finally arranged, to the satisfaction of all parties, appears fully in the following extract from the report of the Directors to the Assembly of 1836, as found in the published minutes of that year: "The Board are gratified," says the report, "in being able to state that Dr. Elliott, who was chosen by the last General Assembly to the Professorship of Ecclesiastical History, has, after much deliberation, accepted the appointment. Dr. Halsey, who has, since his first connection with the Seminary, conducted both the departments of Ecclesiastical History and Didactic Theology, having

expressed a desire that he should be transferred to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History, and Dr. Elliott to that of Theology, the Board recommended the transfer to the action of the Assembly." This change was accordingly made.

One year later, Dr. Halsey resigned his place in the Seminary. His ability, fidelity, and Christian character, had won for him many warm admirers and friends, alike among the ministry and the people. He had accomplished eight years of valuable service for the Lord. His relations to the Faculty had been amicable and brotherly. The Board with regret parted with him. His pupils until this day cherish the most affectionate remembrances of him. And now, in his beautiful age, his own abiding attachment for this Seminary is seen in the noble benefaction, through which he shall continue to speak when death shall have sealed his lips. The affectionate confidence of the Board meets him on this occasion, in the form of a cordial invitation to deliver lectures to the classes during his residence here, as his strength may permit, on important branches of their course. The Lord's blessing be upon him while he lingers among us, and a crown of glory on high!

Dr. Elliott was inaugurated in the autumn following his appointment, when Dr. Henry R. Weed delivered an able charge. Through all the vicissitudes of the Seminary, he has remained, in honor, until now. At the time of his entrance, in the summer of 1836, there were *twenty-six* students; when the first catalogue was issued, two years later, the number had risen to *fifty*. The studies of the Chair left vacant by the retirement of Dr. Halsey, in 1837, were conducted by Professor Nevin, an assistant having been employed in his own department, until his resignation, in 1840, to become a Professor in the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church, then at Mercersburg, Pa. During these years, he performed acceptably the service, and wore the dignity of a Professor, without formal investiture, simply because this was his preference. He is still the recognized leader of the church of his adoption. And, although we may be less inclined than formerly to confess him as a representative of our views, on some very important questions, there are not a few of the sons of Allegheny who will cherish in memory the ability of his instructions, and the earnestness of his work, as well as the greatness of his intellect and the warmth of his friendship.

The spring and summer of 1840 marked one of the severest trials of all this history. The retirement of Dr. Nevin left Dr. Elliott the sole Professor. Straitened finances, diminished classes, and a discouraged spirit in the church, were combined into a heavy burden upon the shoulders of one man of unwavering faith and resolute courage. Had the heart of Dr. Elliott quailed then, the Seminary would have come to its burial. But the Lord again interposed. Once more strength was born from the womb of necessity. "*Post tenebrosissimum, sit lux!*" The Rev. Robert Dunlap of blessed memory, then pastor of the Second Church of Pittsburgh, gave temporary assistance in teaching. The Rev. Dr. A. D. Campbell still lectured occasionally on Church Government. Meanwhile, the crisis was met with prayerful vigilance. The attention of the Board was called to the Rev. Lewis W. Green, of Kentucky, as a suitable person to fill the Chair of Oriental and Biblical Literature, and the Assembly of 1840 gave him a cordial election. The announcement of his acceptance, in September following, brought joy. His inauguration took place October 26th, 1840, when a sermon by Dr. Beatty, a charge by Dr. McConaughy, and the Professor's address on "The interpretation of the Bible," commanded the attention of a large assembly. Provision having been made for the salary of a third Professor, for three years, by special subscription, the Rev. Alexander T. McGill, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Carlisle, Pa., was chosen as Instructor, in 1841, and elected by the Assembly of 1842, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government. He was inaugurated on the 18th of November following, the Rev. George Marshall preaching the sermon, and Dr. Herron delivering the charge, in connection with the Professor's address on "The scope and significance of Church History." This re-organization of the Faculty was satisfactory to the church, and attracted students. And so the instruction continued for five years, when, in 1847, Dr. Green retired to take charge of the Second Presbyterian Church of Baltimore. He was afterwards successively President of Hampden Sidney College, Virginia, and of Transylvania University, and Centre College, in his own native Kentucky. While in the last position, in 1862, he was called to his glorious rest. He was a fine scholar, an eloquent preacher, and a genial, Christian gentleman.

The chair of Dr. Green was not regularly filled until 1851. The intervening years were witnesses of the struggle to complete the endowment of the two professorships, which we have before sketched, and therefore were years of *economy*. Drs. Elliott and McGill, by means of extra labor, with the assistance of tutors, carried the classes along satisfactorily. But the simultaneous completion of this endowment and the added endowment of a third chair, through the lease of the ground, prepared the way for the third Professor. The choice fell upon the Rev. Melancthon W. Jacobus, pastor of the First Church of Brooklyn. His inauguration did not take place, however, until May 12, 1852. The venerable Dr. Herron presided, and delivered the charge. Dr. Jacobus, after a valuable service of twenty years, in the Seminary and out of it, is still at his post, in the full vigor of Christian manhood. His valuable commentaries upon the Scriptures have won for him a high reputation, which the Seminary has shared, along with the fruits of his fine scholarship.

Two years later, the organization of the Faculty was again disturbed by the transfer of Dr. McGill to the Seminary at Princeton. The question of his removal from the Institution had been raised with annoying frequency, by calls to other positions, during the twelve years of his incumbency, but now the movement came in the way of a formal nomination to the Assembly, by the Princeton Directors, for a chair in that Seminary. This was resisted by the friends of Allegheny, on the ground that the sanction of such a predatory warfare of one Seminary upon another, by the Assembly, would be of disparaging and damaging effect upon the Institution. After considerable contest in the Assembly, Dr. McGill took upon himself the responsibility, by expressing a personal preference for the change, whereupon the opposition was withdrawn, and he was transferred. The friends of our Seminary had always given him a warm support, and, at that time, desired his continuance. They valued him for his fine qualities as a Professor, and they remembered his excellent work, but they did not wish to retain him against his own desire. The Directors, in parting with him, recorded their sense of his "valuable services," and their prayerful wish that "the blessing of God" might rest upon him in his new sphere. He is still efficiently at his post in Princeton.

The vacancy thus created in the Faculty was filled by the same

Assembly, which elected William S. Plumer, D.D., pastor of the Franklin Street Church of Baltimore, Professor. He was chosen without his consent, or even knowledge, and with a distinct understanding of his unwillingness to accept a chair of history. But to meet the case, a resolution was passed, authorizing the Board of Directors, in conjunction with the Professors, to make such an adjustment of the departments of instruction, as to them might seem best, duly regarding the rights of each Professor.

It is proper to say that, being myself the mover of that resolution, I offered it with a full and confidential knowledge of Dr. Elliott's readiness to surrender the chair of theology to a younger man, and to take another better suited to his time of life. The venerable Dr. Archibald Alexander, of Princeton, at about the same age, had made a similar change. The Directors and Faculty had no difficulty in making such a re-arrangement of the chairs. Dr. Elliott was made Professor of Polemic and Historical Theology and Church Government, and Dr. Plumer, yielding to the unanimous urgency, accepted the Professorship of Didactic and Pastoral Theology, and was inaugurated October 20, 1854. It was on that occasion that the venerable Dr. Swift, then in his sixty-third year, closed his masterly charge to the new Professor with touching reminiscences of the past history of the Seminary, rising to the height of his lofty eloquence as he said, "In respect to this and other institutions, common to us all, I seem to hear, from behind the curtain, the voices of our still much loved McMillan, Patterson, McCurdy, Jennings, and Brown, saying, *Onward!* Brethren, *Onward!* with the work of the Lord!" And lo, now for these seven years, the voice of Swift himself, along with that of Herron, has been crying from behind the same curtain, *Onward!*

Dr. Plumer brought to the Seminary an excellent reputation for piety, orthoxy, and ability as a leader in the movements of the Church. He gave it also the full benefit of his large acquaintance, his great personal influence, and his untiring energy. His unusual power to gather students into the Seminary, and to stimulate their religious activities when there, were freely acknowledged, and are still held in vivid remembrance. The number in attendance in 1854, was *fifty-four*, with an upward tendency. By a blessing upon the fidelity of each of the Professors, and upon their harmonious co-

operation, with the benefit, also, of the *material* progress before noted, in three years the roll contained *eighty-one* names, and at the breaking out of the war, in 1861, the whole number was *one hundred and sixty-five*. The complications of the war led Dr. Plumer to resign his place on the 18th of September, 1862, and the Board, with regret for circumstances over which they had no control, felt constrained to accept his resignation. He is now a Professor in the Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina. He still has the warm personal regard of the Professors, Directors, and alumni, and their gratitude for his valuable services.

The Assembly of 1857 elected the Rev. Samuel Jennings Wilson Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Homiletics. He is an honored son of the Seminary itself, of the class of 1855, and a no less honored alumnus of Washington College. At the time of his election, his gifts in that department had been fully tested by the experience of one year as Instructor. His was known as the fourth professorship, the endowment of which was started in 1856. Dr. Wilson was formally inducted April 27, 1858, when the words of charge fell upon his ears from the lips of the good and wise Dr. Samuel McFarren, now a saint in glory. He is still a Professor of high ability, in the full force and usefulness of his calling, and in the strength of his early manhood, having shared with like zeal, also, the outside efforts of his brethren to build up the institution. Long may he be spared for this great service of Christ, as well as to utter, with eloquent earnestness, the Gospel messages.

The next Professor chosen was Dr. William M. Paxton, the pastor of the First Church of Pittsburgh, who was appointed by the Assembly of 1860, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric, and inaugurated on the 11th of April following, being officially and happily addressed by William D. Howard, D.D., pastor of the Second Church of the same city. Dr. Paxton's connection as Professor was subordinate to his important pastorate, yet his courses of lectures, gratuitously given, were received with great pleasure and profit by the students. Since his removal to New York, in 1865, they have, of course, been for the most part interrupted, and for this reason, he has felt, at length, constrained to resign his Chair.

The Rev. Archibald Alexander Hodge, D.D., a son of the venerable Dr. Charles Hodge, of Princeton, a Missionary in India during

the first years of his ministry, and at the time of his election, a pastor in Wilkesbarre, Pa., was introduced into the Chair of Didactic, Historical and Polemic Theology, November 2, 1864, the Assembly of that year having chosen him to that office. The Rev. James M. Platt, of Zanesville, Ohio, delivered the address. The Professor's own inaugural address struck most happily a key-note below which his performance has never fallen. The classes continue to receive the benefits of his comprehensive, thorough, and masterly instruction, whilst his theological contributions through the press are among the most accepted representations of our faith. He also abides with us, in the fullest confidence of the Church, a champion for the truth.

The last addition to the regular corps of Professors was made in the person of Dr. William H. Hornblower, who was elected to the Reunion Professorship of Sacred Rhetoric, Church Government, and Pastoral Theology, by the Board of Directors, under the new arrangement adopted by the Assembly of 1870, which gives the entire management to the Directors, retaining the power of veto in the Assembly itself. He was inaugurated in November last. After an appropriate charge by the Rev. George Hill, D.D., a member of the Board, his own offering of first fruits was laid upon the altar, in pledge of the abundant harvest of benefits to be expected from his labors. He comes among us with an excellent reputation, and fresh in the sympathies of a long and successful pastorate, at Paterson, New Jersey, to combine with the culture of scholarship, practical training in the art of preaching, as well as of ruling in the house of the Lord.

In addition to these, the Rev. Charles C. Beatty, D.D., LL.D., has, since 1863, by appointment of the Board, filled the office of Lecturer Extraordinary on Practical Theology. His gratuitous and able service in this respect has been a source of large benefit to the students, and of great importance to the Seminary. Ill health, now, to the regret of all, compels his withdrawal.

Such is our band of Professors. Four of them are in the fulness of their manly vigor, each one possessing distinct traits and force peculiar to himself; and in their union they give to our young men the advantage of a variety and completeness not often surpassed. At their head remains our honored father, David Elliott, D.D., LL.D., after a service covering just one-half of the present century.

He has been cordially released from further labor, save only that, in the character of Emeritus Professor, at the age of *eighty-five years*, he shall give to his junior Professors and the students his wise and pious counsels, commending them severally to the grace of God, in his prayers, as he nears the Promised Land. Profoundly thankful, Fellow Alumni, for the good Providence which has preserved him for this reunion, with a cloudless intellect and a warm heart, shall we not invoke a blessing for him while he lives, and then, when he dies, each of us cry, "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof?"

But what shall we say, in the last place, of

THE SONS OF THE SEMINARY,

who, like the living "jewels" of the mother of the Gracchi, are the best of all fruits and witnesses of usefulness? God's blessing is not so manifest in any other part of this history, as in the number, character, and achievements of the men who have received here the double culture of mind and heart, which prepared them for the toils and faith of the ministerial work. Of the *one thousand and forty-nine* who have been matriculated, a very small proportion have failed to enter the sacred office. In the first years, the students were generally from the two neighboring colleges—Jefferson supplying the largest number, and Washington the next; and the consolidated college must evidently, in the career of prosperity before her, ever be the best source of supply. But the growth of numbers, and the extended list of literary institutions from which the supplies have come, have kept pace with all other tokens of progress. In 1856, the Senior Professor reported *fifty-two* as the average attendance from the beginning. During the intervening sixteen years it has been one hundred and three. The highest point reached was in 1861, when the roll contained one hundred and sixty-five names; the lowest number since was seventy-three, in 1867. What the numbers would have been, but for the late civil war, which diminished accessions by calling to the battle-field so largely the students of colleges and academies, and by diverting the pursuits of so many more from a course of liberal education, cannot now be accurately stated. All who remember the circumstances will only wonder that our own and other Seminaries maintained their ground so well. The

reaction in the colleges has now fairly set in, and in the flow of the future we can see greater advancement than ever before. The present number of students, eighty-three, is an increase of eight over the last year. And they represent *twenty-two* colleges and *ten States* of the Union, as well as three foreign countries. Amherst in Massachusetts, Cornell in New York, Princeton in New Jersey, Hanover and Wabash in Indiana, and the University of Virginia, send sons to sit in these seats, along with those of nine institutions of Ohio and five of Pennsylvania.

If we would trace the alumni of the Seminary, we must go to nearly every part of our own land, and to nearly every missionary field of the world. Three honored sons are secretaries of Boards of the Church, viz., the Senior Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, the Secretary of the Board of Education, and the Secretary of the Freedmen's Committee. We are ably represented in the pulpits of Albany, New York, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Columbus, Louisville, Lexington, St. Louis, Springfield, and other leading cities, as well as a vast number of places less prominent, but not less difficult or important. A fair contribution of efficient men has certainly been made to presidential and professorial chairs, and to editorial work. How richly the churches covering the territory of the old Pittsburgh Synod have received back all their outlay, with interest, appears in the statistics, which show that in the ministry of the present Synod of the same name, numbering one hundred and thirty-seven, there are eighty-eight alumni of the Seminary; that, in the Synod of Erie, there are eighty-nine out of one hundred and forty-six; and that, in the three Presbyteries of the Synod of Cleveland lying within the same original bounds, there are forty-six out of eighty-eight. In Eastern Pennsylvania, and in most of the old States out of New England, few Presbyteries are without one or more of them. Looking west of us, by state boundaries, we now find one hundred and twenty-one living sons of the Seminary located in Ohio, fifty-two in Illinois, thirty-five in Iowa, nineteen in Indiana, twenty-one in Missouri, seventeen in West Virginia, fourteen in Kansas, nine in Minnesota, five in Nebraska, eight in Wisconson, eight in California, three in Oregon, and some in other Western States, and in most of the territories. A considerable number are to be found in the Southern States.

In all these various localities, these sons of Allegheny bear their witness to the training received here. They differ from each other, of course, in attainments, zeal, and efficiency. But, like the students of any other institution, they are more or less moulded into one type. It is far from being the only claim we make for them, but it is certainly a chief one, that, as a general rule, they become, in the field of work, practical preachers and efficient pastors. In their drill, scholastic culture is secured, but it is subordinated to actual power. Without any disparagement of our other excellent Seminaries, or invidious comparison with them, but in full acknowledgment of their excellencies and advantages, we may be allowed a sense of pleasure in the fact that our students are so largely sought by congregations, alike amidst the refinements of Eastern, and the more rugged energies of Western society.

But, after all, our loftiest joy is derived from the connection of our Seminary with Foreign Missions. It is not to be forgotten that the old Synod of Pittsburgh, in the midst of which it was established, resolved itself, at its first meeting, in 1802, amidst the glow of the great religious revival, into a Western Missionary Society, with special reference to the conversion of the Indian tribes. In 1831, the same body organized the "Western Foreign Missionary Society," taking "the world" for "the field." Its first efficient and eloquent secretary was the same Dr. Swift who, four years before, had given the first note of instruction in the Western Theological Seminary. It became, by the adoption of the General Assembly, in 1838, the Board of Foreign Missions for the whole church, and it now has, in the re-united church, a force of two hundred and thirty-seven foreign laborers, male and female, in the field, besides a large number of native ministers, and three hundred and seventy-eight native helpers. It is not strange that the missionary spirit which prompted such an organization, should have provided a "school of the prophets," located at the same centre. Nor is it any more strange that the first missionaries sent out by this Presbyterian society should have been from that very school. John C. Lowrie and William Reed went forth in 1833, as the vanguard of the army of conquest, in Northern India, and were followed, one year later, by James Wilson and John Newton, now the veteran missionary of *thirty-eight years*. The year 1834 also gave John Cloud to touch

the shores of West Africa, and die, whilst his classmate, Joseph Kerr, went forth to the Western Indians. In 1836, Edward Cope became our witness at Ceylon, and Robert W. Orr, of our Board, and Joseph S. Travelli, of the American Board, lifted up their voices in China. Two years later still, Joseph Warren joined the noble company in Northern India; at the same time, also, William Hamilton became the pioneer among the Iowa Indians, soon to be followed by Stephen R. Riggs, among the Sioux. Thus the first nine classes were represented, amidst heathen altars, by twelve foreign missionaries, witnesses for Christ and the Presbyterian Church in her organized capacity. To their number have been added, from time to time, a most worthy succession. Among the sainted dead are the noble Fullerton and the murdered Campbell and Johnson of India, the consecrated Paull, of Africa, and the faithful Sharpe, of South America. In China, besides Speer and Green, whom failing health recalled, Happer, after a service of more than a quarter of a century, and Noyes, and Mateer, and Lyon, and Corbett, still answer to the roll-call, while Condit follows seven years of service there with a like work among the Chinese of California. Leavitt and Williams are back in this country, but the Newtons (the father and two sons), Wykoff, W. F. Johnson, Holcomb, and Kelso, still blow the Gospel trumpet on the plains of Northern India. McDonald, McFarland, and George, are our living representatives in Siam, and Thompson in Japan. Blackford, Schneider, and Wallace, are still bearing aloft the Gospel banner in South America; and McLaren was, for three years, of their company. Burtt, following in the footsteps of the pioneers, served his day among the western tribes; and, while we are here, D. F. McFarland and Roberts stand up for Jesus in New Mexico. And that the same Christian heroism has not died out, is evidenced by the fact that our young brother Hull, of the present graduating class, goes with his most worthy companion Graham, of the Seminary at Princeton, to join the band who testify the grace of God in Western India. The name of another member of the class is now before the Board for appointment to some foreign field. Shall not all of these precious names have a warm place in our hearts, amidst the joys of this re-union? Nor shall we cherish less the far larger number who, with toil and trial as great have rushed over

mountains, prairies, and wildernesses, to supply the destitutions of our great and growing country. They are our brethren in the largest fellowship of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. They are with us now, in spirit.

But now I hasten to *the conclusion.* We surely cannot be without an overpowering sense of gratitude to God, in this review of his mercies. The Seminary has been preserved through the most perilous vicissitudes, recurring almost annually during the first half of its history, but, at last, it has been led by the invisible hand up to the fulness of strength. Its foundations were laid in faith, and the all-seeing Preserver has looked down upon it in love, during all these years. The prayers of the sainted Patterson which consecrated every room of the first building apart, and never failed, in any place, to ask a covenant-keeping God to "*bless the lads*," represented then, and have been followed since, by petitions of like earnestness from many other hearts, which remain an unblotted record before the Throne. In answer thereunto, the Holy Ghost has kept the fire of a true devotion burning upon the heart-altars of Professors, Directors, and friends, and has drawn hither and sanctified the young men of the Church, in gratifying numbers.

The work of *forty-five* years for Christ, in training godly ministers for his service, can never be undone. Neither can the vantage ground, which has been reached, ever be lost. There are consecrated men, by hundreds, who, in the full equipment received here, are nobly fighting, upon as many fields, the battles of the Lord against error and sin. And there are large classes in the institution panting to follow them. The *future* we may read in the covenant of which our risen Redeemer is "surety;" in the Providence which, by means of science, art, commerce, and government, is annihilating the barriers of distance, tradition, and caste, for the fusion of races into one Gospel brotherhood; in the problem of the uncounted millions destined soon to throng this vast continent, whose destiny only the "Great Commission" can solve; in the rising spirit of the Church and ministry, to enter the open doors of a waiting world with the Word of Life; and in the eternal purpose which the blood of Calvary has sealed, assuring to our faith for Christ the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession. For the great achievement, let the Western Theological Seminary ever be

held in holy dedication, and, while life lasts, let every one of her sons be a faithful witness in behalf of the coming glory of Jesus, the Saviour of lost men.

SUPPLEMENT.

The decision of the committee of publication to insert the foregoing history of the Theological Seminary in this volume, as a legitimate part of the century's record, makes it necessary to add a brief notice of the intervening years.

The venerable Dr. Elliott was present at the happy reunion of 1872, to pronounce, from the fulness of a father's heart, his blessing upon the hundreds of ministerial sons then assembled. But, after gentle stages of declining health, he entered into the heavenly rest, March 18, 1874, in the triumph of faith, still whispering, with his last breath, petitions for God's favor upon the beloved Seminary, as well as its Professors, students, and alumni. The warmest expressions of reverential love, both official and personal, attested the strength of ties which nothing but death could have sundered. A small memorial volume, only too feebly written, preserves the facts of his history, and an outline of his noble character.

An important addition to the instruction of the institution was made, in 1874, by the erection of the chair of New Testament Literature and Exegesis. The Professor unanimously chosen is the Rev. Samuel T. Lowrie, D.D., an alumnus of Miami University, a son of the Seminary itself, of the class of 1856, and, at the time of his election, the pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Abington, Pennsylvania. His inauguration took place in the Second Presbyterian Church at Pittsburgh, November 10, 1874. The Rev. S. F. Scovel delivered an appropriate charge to the new Professor, who followed with an inaugural address, ably setting forth the scope of his proposed instruction. His excellent scholarship, joined with assiduous labor, have already given him a fine reputation in the Seminary, which is extending through the Church.

In the number of students the Seminary holds its ground with an upward tendency. The accessions of the present year were over forty. Ninety-five of the students have gone forth into the ranks of the

ministry since the reunion of 1872. Of these five have gone as missionaries to the foreign field, making the whole number *fifty-four* who have represented the institution among the idolatries of heathenism.

MISSIONARY HISTORY.

BY

REV. ELLIOT E. SWIFT, D.D.

MISSIONARY HISTORY.

IT is highly probable that the missionary spirit by which the fathers of Western Pennsylvania were animated hastened the organization of the Synod of Pittsburgh. We may infer this from the action taken by that venerable body at its first meeting. The General Assembly of May, 1802, had ordered that the Synod of Virginia, in whose territory all this region was, should be divided into three Synods, and that the Presbyteries of Redstone, Ohio, and Erie should constitute the Synod of Pittsburgh. The elements of this future Synod accordingly assembled in the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, on Wednesday, September 29, 1802. After having completed their organization and provided rules for their government, they resolved "That the Synod of Pittsburgh shall be styled the Western Missionary Society;" and they add, in a second resolution, "The object of the Missionary Society is to diffuse the knowledge of the Gospel among the inhabitants of the new settlements, the Indian tribes, and if need be, among some of the interior inhabitants, where they are not able to support the Gospel."

These resolutions were intended to affirm that each member of the Synod should regard himself as under obligations to carry the Gospel to the destitute, and, as bound by virtue of his connection with the Synod, to contribute his most earnest prayers, his most mature counsel, and his largest official influence to the success of this great work.

Does not this action, taken by the Synod at its very first meeting, reveal the fact that the missionary spirit had been stimulating, for

years before, the fathers who labored in these wild and perilous regions? Does it not prove that the erection of the Synod was only a means to the better accomplishment of an end, and that while its organization would no doubt have been effected in due time, demanded by the necessities of the country, the missionary zeal of these fathers nevertheless accelerated that important event?

The Synod of Pittsburgh transacted much of its mission work by means of a Board of Trust. This was nothing else than what is styled in modern times an executive committee. It consisted of seven members, who were elected annually, and transacted all business in the interim of synodical meetings. It made a full report to that body, submitting therewith the journals of its missionaries. The following persons constituted the Board of Trust as originally organized: Rev. Messrs. John McMillan, David Smith, Thomas Marquis, and Thomas Hughes, together with Messrs. James Edgar, William Plumer, and James Caldwell, elders. The principle of rotation in position and service on this Board appears to have been popular in the Synod, for from the year of its organization, frequent changes occur in the names of both ministers and elders.

The *subjects* of these missionary efforts may be divided, as indeed they were in the constitution of the society, into two classes. The first embraced the Indian tribes, some of whose settlements were within the territory of the Synod.

The deep interest taken in these roving sons of the forest is to be attributed, first of all, to the religious character of the fathers in Western Pennsylvania. With them the doctrines of the apostacy of the race, and of redemption through Christ, were more than mere idle fancies. They firmly believed that the people of these untutored and often treacherous tribes had immortal souls, and were daily perishing "for lack of knowledge." But they could not believe this without putting forth some corresponding effort.

Apart from this however, it should be remembered that from a very early date the work of the Church in America had been largely of a missionary character. The whole western continent was covered by these aborigines, who were legitimate subjects of missionary effort. It was with specific reference to their evangelization that some of the noblest men in the early ministry of our country had

come to America. It was not always the fascination of a virgin soil and an unbroken country which brought them. Nor was it always the desire to escape from civil disabilities and persecutions. We do not indeed deny that these and other inferior motives, may at times, have operated. But often the consideration was much more spiritual and missionary. They remembered the promise, "they that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before Him." They saw nothing impracticable in bringing the Indians speedily under the power of the Gospel, and the early and successful missions established in all parts of the country are the memorials of their faith and zeal, to stand while time shall last.

This then one hundred years ago, was one of the great religious movements of the times, and the fathers of Western Pennsylvania were in sympathy with it. They had missions among the Wyandots at Sandusky, the Senecas near Buffalo, the Ottawas at Maumee, and the Cornplanters on the head waters of the Allegheny. Their work consisted in securing lands, opening schools, employing interpreters, giving instruction in the arts of agriculture, and in preaching the Gospel. The mission among the Ottawas was conducted with great energy. In 1825 it was transferred by the Synod to the United Foreign Missionary Society, and in May, 1826, it was transferred by the General Assembly to the American Board.

As specimens of the minutes often made by the Synod, with regard to this part of the work, we read that in 1804, "Rev. George Scott reported his mission to the Indians, at Sanduskytown and Brownstown, accompanied by Mr. John Bruce. Synod approved the prudence, diligence, and fidelity of Mr. Scott, and ordered that both Messrs. Scott and Bruce be paid from the missionary fund of Synod."

Then again in the minutes of 1822, we read: "At a meeting of the Board of Trust of the Western Missionary Society, held in Washington, Pa., on the 3d day of October, 1822, on motion, resolved unanimously that the Synod be requested to appoint the Rev. Samuel Tait, Superintendent *pro tem.* of the mission family about to be located among the Ottawa Indians, on the Maumee river, and that the Synod direct the adjacent Presbyteries to appoint supplies for Mr. Tait's pulpit during his absence. This recommendation of the Synod was unanimously adopted."

Some of the fathers of the Synod were especially active in these missions among the Indians, of whom were Rev. Messrs. William Wick, John McPherrin, George Hill, James Hughes, Thomas Marquis, Michael Law, George M. Scott, James Satterfield, Samuel Tait, Thomas E. Hughes, Elisha Macurdy, and Joseph Badger.

The other class in whose behalf missionary efforts were made, were "the inhabitants of the new settlements." The large proportion of these were Scotch Presbyterians from the North of Ireland, who had escaped from the intolerance of episcopacy. As they landed in the ports of Pennsylvania and Virginia, they were encouraged by the authorities to move towards the western frontier. It was self-interest no doubt, which suggested this policy. These scattered settlers would defend the inhabitants of Eastern Pennsylvania and Virginia against the attacks of cunning and treacherous Indians. They would subserve the same purpose with the breakwater, when it receives and destroys the violence of the impetuous waves. And now these Scotch-Irish families, having found these wild and widely scattered homes, must not be lost to the Church and the land. They were strong in their attachments to the Westminster Confession, and they knew nothing but the usages of Presbyterian discipline and worship. They must be gathered, organized into churches, and supplied occasionally with the ordinances of religion, until houses could be built and pastors provided.

And here again a few specimens from the records of the Synod will be full of interest. Thus, in 1802, "Rev. John McPherrin was appointed a missionary for one month, his field of missions to be the Connecticut Reserve."

In 1803, "Rev. Robert Patterson was appointed a missionary, to itinerate one month in the settlements adjacent to Lake Erie, to set out as soon as convenient."

In the same year, "Rev. Elisha Macurdy, of the Presbytery of Ohio, was appointed to go one month on a mission in the settlements down the Ohio river, to set out on the first of November next."

"Rev. John Wright, a licentiate under the care of the Presbytery of Redstone, was appointed to spend two months on a mission in the settlements down the Ohio river, to commence his route at Waynesburg."

One of the earliest and most conspicuous missionary laborers in this region was the Rev. Joseph Badger. He was born in Wilbraham, Mass., February 28, 1757. The earlier as well as the later history of this devoted servant of Christ is full of incident. There is a fascination in it by which the reader is carried captive. When entering his nineteenth year he joined the army of his country and was present at the battle of Bunker Hill. In 1779, while under the instruction of Rev. Jeremiah Day, he became impressed with the truth of the Bible. As the result of the moral change then wrought, he abandoned all thought of returning to the army, and entered upon a course of study with a view of the ministry. During his senior year while at Yale College he constructed a planetarium, for which the corporation paid him one hundred dollars. In 1700 he was appointed by the Connecticut Missionary Society to labor in the Western Reserve. Having reached his field, he preached in Youngstown, Hudson, Cleveland, Austinburgh, Maumee Station, Ashtabula, and Gustavius, organizing churches where it seemed practicable. He was present at the organization of the Synod of Pittsburgh as a missionary of the Connecticut Society, and was invited to sit as a corresponding member. But having in the meantime connected himself with the Presbytery of Erie, the next year he appeared as a member of Synod. In 1806 he declined a reappointment from the Connecticut Society, and accepted a commission from the Western Missionary Society at Pittsburgh. While returning from this city, and while still far from home, he received the sad intelligence of the death of one of his daughters. At another time, while absent on one of his missionary tours, his house was burned, with nearly all his provisions and furniture. He was happy in expedients, boundless in his resources, and indefatigable in his labors. It is impossible to read the published sketches of this man without the conviction that he was raised up by God for a special work. He died at Perrysburgh, Ohio, in 1846, in the ninetieth year of his age.

The missionary zeal of the Rev. Elisha Macurdy also demands some special mention. He was born in Carlisle, Pa., on the 15th of October, 1763, and was baptized in the old log meeting-house on Pomfret Street, by Rev. George Duffield, D.D., grandfather of the late Dr. Duffield, of Detroit. After several changes in location, his father settled in Ligonier Valley, Westmoreland county. Elisha,

who was then twenty-one years of age, did much by his exertion to maintain the family. He thus acquired habits of industry and knowledge of human nature, both of which were of advantage to him in his subsequent preparation for the ministry. He was awakened under the preaching of Rev. James Hughes, and admitted to full communion in the Church of Salem, under Rev. John McPherrin. The earnestness of his piety appeared in his often rising in the night for prayer, and in his frequently urging the importance of personal religion on those he met. After he had determined to study for the ministry, he sold the farm he had acquired by his own industry, to secure the necessary funds. He entered the Academy at Canonsburg in 1792, and afterward studied theology with Rev. John McMillan, D.D. He was licensed on the 26th of June, 1799, by the Presbytery of Ohio, and ordained and installed over the united congregations of Cross Roads and Three Springs, in June, 1800.

Soon after his licensure, he made two missionary tours through the region bordering on Lake Erie, preaching frequently, and in places where the Gospel was seldom heard. Indeed, he was so much interested in these missionary labors that he, for a time, declined calls from churches which were quite importunate for his services.

He was most conspicuous however, in his missionary efforts for the Indians.

In the spring of 1804 he received as inmates of his family, two Indian lads—John Barnett of the Wyandots, and Peter Johnson of the Mohawks. The history relating to the former of these is long and full of interest.

In April, 1808, he went with Rev. Messrs. Marquis and Anderson to Sandusky to inquire into, and adjust, certain difficulties in that mission. Circumstances appeared to require that Mr. Macurdy should remain for six months in charge of the station, while the other members of the committee returned home. During this period he obtained a very vivid impression of the depravity and degradation of the Indian tribes, and of the trials and dangers incidental to a missionary's life among them. In one instance he discovered very remarkable courage and firmness, and even severity, in resisting the demands made by a band of squalid and debauched red-men. Such was his tact and management that he acquired great influence over the Indians generally.

In 1811, he visited Sandusky a second time, to adjust difficulties growing out of the relations of the superintendent and teacher.

In September, 1816, he performed a missionary tour to the station of the Cornplanter Indians, to ascertain the practicability of establishing a second school among them, and in October, 1818, he again visited them.

In the spring of 1819, in company with Rev. James Scott, he visited the Indians at Sandusky, and again in May, 1821.

Having been appointed to visit Maumee, and prepare for the mission to be established, he set out in August, 1822, in company with Rev. Joseph Stevenson. During his stay of two months, he manifested great energy and prudence in making arrangements for and in raising the buildings. He refused to accede to exorbitant terms first proposed by laborers, and as the work advanced, he promptly dismissed the indolent and incompetent. While supervising the whole, he also performed as much labor as any man on the ground, besides supplying the station with the Gospel on the Sabbath.

In 1823, we find him again visiting Maumee, and while on his return he was prostrated by a fever, from the effects of which he did not soon recover.

In the spring of 1825, he visited the same station with Rev. James C. Crane, and soon after he made what proved to be his final visit, this time in company with Rev. Dr. Anderson.

All these missionary tours were undertaken by the appointment of the Society, and Rev. Dr. Elliott has estimated that the distance traveled would amount to 4,500 miles.

Mr. Macurdy was a member of the Board of Trust from its organization, and for many years its treasurer. He was uniform in his attendance upon its meetings, and his judgment had great weight with his brethren.

In 1836, Mr. Macurdy removed to Allegheny, where he spent the remaining portion of his natural life. He died on the 22d of July, 1845, in the eighty-third year of his age.

The Synod of Pittsburgh endeavored to promote its own interest in this work by means of an annual sermon on missions. This was commonly delivered on Thursday evening, by some member appointed at the previous meeting. Thus, in 1803, Rev. Samuel Porter preached from Psalm lxxii. 17: "His name shall endure for

ever: his name shall continue as long as the sun, and men shall be blessed in him;" and the next year the Rev. Samuel Ralston fulfilled this service. In 1805, Rev. Thomas Marquis preached from Song viii. 8: "What shall we do for our sister in the day when she shall be spoken for?" and the next year the Rev. James Hughes preached from Isaiah xlix. 16: "Behold, I have graven thee on the palms of my hands; thy walls are continually before me." In 1807, Rev. Wm. Wylie preached from Matthew vi. 10: "Thy Kingdom come;" and the next year Rev. Thomas Hughes preached from Psalm cii. 13: "Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion: for the time to favor her, yea, the set time, is come." In 1809, Rev. Elisha Macurdy preached from Mark xvi. 15: "And he said unto them, go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature;" and the next year, the Rev. John McPherrin preached from Matt. xvi. 26: "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul." This commendable usage of an annual sermon was maintained with unfailing uniformity during the whole period in which the Synod conducted its missionary operations through the Board of Trust. In connection with each of these sermons collections were made, the amounts of which varied from $30 to $70. One of the most generous collections, amounting to $73, was in 1817, after a sermon by Rev. Robert Johnston, from Isaiah xi. 9: "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

Another means adopted for promoting a deeper interest in the missionary work, was the publication of a monthly. This was styled the *Western Missionary Magazine*. At its first meeting, Synod chose twelve members as editors, three of whom were to have the special superintendence of the business. The first committee consisted of the following ministers: Messrs. John McMillan, Thos. Moore, John Anderson, Joseph Badger, John McPherrin, Wm. Wick, James Hughes, Samuel Porter, William Wylie, David Smith, Samuel Ralston, and George Scott. Thus it would seem that the Synod was not ignorant of the advantages to be gained from a long array of instructive and fascinating contributors. The circulation of the Magazine however, was necessarily limited, and the profits, which were to go to the treasury of the Missionary Society, were small. The Synod therefore, was in some doubt, at the end of the

second year, whether it were expedient to continue its publication. In 1807 the editors reported that the profits accruing from the sale of the Magazine amounted to $334 32.

The fathers of this Synod had great confidence in the power of prayer. Through a succession of years they met at six o'clock in the morning, to wrestle with God. We can now only conjecture the sacred glow which would be enkindled in meetings held before dawn, and composed of men whose almost resistless energy in prayer became a matter of precious tradition in the regions where they labored. It is not assumed indeed, that these meetings were held in the interest of missions alone. And yet when thus assembled, they surely would not overlook that work which occupied so much of their thought amid the deliberations of the day.

With these methods of management the Synod of Pittsburgh continued to conduct its missionary work for twenty-seven years. And because the results had been so very satisfactory, the question as to what should be the future relations of the Board of Trust to the Board of Missions of the General Assembly, became, in 1828, a matter of prayerful and anxious consideration. This latter Board, to which our beloved Church owes so much, had its origin in the Standing Committee on Missions, appointed by the Assembly in 1802; and in 1816 this committee, on its own recommendation, was succeeded by a Board, which was styled the Board of Missions, acting under the authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. For a number of years however, its efficiency was far from meeting the wishes of its friends. It encountered opposition from the American Home Missionary Society, not only in the open field of evangelistic effort, but even on the floor of the General Assembly. Then too, much of the money which would otherwise have found its way into the Treasury of the Board, was absorbed by numerous synodical and presbyterial organizations. These smaller missionary societies saw no good reason why they should not expend the funds they had collected, upon their own territory. This policy, however, was undesignedly militating against the Assembly's Board, and it was becoming evident that the work must be unified and regulated from one common centre. The Assembly therefore, in 1828, reorganized the Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, with the provisions under which it has since operated.

The fathers in the Synod of Pittsburgh were by no means ignorant of, or indifferent to, the influences which were compelling this speedy unification. They were ready to forego all cherished schemes, for the sake of greater general efficiency. They therefore adopted, in 1829, the report of a committee appointed the previous year, in which they say: "It is, and ought to be, a matter of sincere congratulation on the part of the members of the Presbyterian Church generally, that the Board of Missions, acting under its sanction, has recently adopted, and is now prosecuting an efficient and extended plan of operation, suited in its extent to the moral necessities and resources of this great and rising country, and in its individual form and character, to the feelings of the members of the Presbyterian Church. The committee rejoice that on this plan many congregations within our bounds have been already organized into auxiliary societies, and that in different and distant parts of our Church the same plan has been so far cordially approved and acted upon, as to justify the belief that at no distant period our Church will be in fact, what she was intended to be in the conception and design of the venerable framers of her Constitution, one great missionary association, meeting in her efforts and liberality the spirit of those ages of increasing zeal and widening prosperity, through which she was destined to pass on her way to the full glory of the latter day. Your committee believe, therefore, that every possible encouragement should be afforded to the General Assembly in its design of uniting and concentrating all the missionary resources of our Church, and that its call upon the several Synods and Presbyteries of which it is composed, to come up to the help of the Lord, should be distinctly and promptly answered from one extremity of the continent to the other."

After the adoption of several resolutions, in which the Synod opens the way for the soliciting agents of the Assembly's Board, encourages the formation of auxiliaries, recommends the Board's monthly publication, and highly approves of the scheme to raise $100,000 for missionary purposes, they resolved that the operations of the Board of Trust of the Western Missionary Society be suspended during the will of the Synod, with the view of putting the whole missionary business into the hands of the Board of Missions of the General Assembly for so long a period as circumstances shall, in the view of the Synod, justify such an arrangement.

The Board of Trust was to be continued, however, until the business of the Western Missionary Society should be fully settled, and even afterwards, if the conditions of its charter required it, and it was directed and empowered to proceed in the adjustment of all unfinished missionary business.

Thus nobly and generously did this grand old Synod, in 1829, transfer the immediate supervision and control of the work she had begun in 1802. By her wisdom, patience, and efficiency, she has obtained an imperishable record in the annals of our church. Rev. Ashbel Green, D.D., says, in his "History of Domestic and Foreign Missions in the Presbyterian Church," that while the Synods of the Carolinas, Virginia, and Kentucky, were distinguished for their zeal, the Synod of Pittsburgh was the longest and most extensively and efficiently engaged in this work.

The time was now rapidly approaching however, when these fathers of Western Pennsylvania were about to afford a more sublime spectacle. Heretofore their missionary operations had been necessarily confined to their own territory. But now they were about to enter upon a grander work, and assume a more weighty responsibility. Under the influence of the Holy Spirit, they were about to embark single-handed and alone, in the enterprise of sending the gospel to other continents, and in doing it they were about to assert and illustrate the great principle of ecclesiastical supervision and control. For while several societies in Europe—such as the Church Missionary Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society—had conducted their missions on this plan, it had been as yet scarcely attempted by the Presbyterian Church in the United States. Though the propriety of the movement proposed by these fathers was seriously questioned by many, they appear to have assumed that time would vindicate the wisdom of their acts. And, as every one knows, the results have long since constrained the then timid and doubting to concede to them the position of advanced thinkers on the subject of missions.

It was in 1831, just two years after the Board of Trust had been directed to transfer its work to the Board of Missions, that the Western Foreign Missionary Society was organized. For some years previous the churches of the Synod had been encouraged to raise funds for the foreign missionary work. In 1827, the stated

clerks of the respective Presbyteries were directed to distinguish in their reports the moneys received for foreign, from those received for domestic missions, and in 1828, they resolved that contributions made within their bounds for foreign missions, under the direction of Synod, or its agents, be transferred to the Board of Domestic Missions of the General Assembly, and that this Synod be considered, so far as the collection and transmission of funds for this object is concerned, a Foreign Missionary Society, auxiliary to that Board. It is not improbable, however, that the most of the funds thus forwarded were expended upon the Indian missions of our land.

The moral sublimity of the enterprise on which the Synod was now to enter cannot be fully seen without taking into the account its size and financial ability. Its faith and forecast never appear so admirable as when we consider the comparative newness of the region, the fewness of its churches, and the smallness of its resources. The city of Pittsburgh was then a town of about 13,400 inhabitants. It required three and a half days of staging, by night and day, to reach Philadelphia. It contained but two Presbyterian churches—for the Church of the Northern Liberties, or the Fourth Church, as it was afterwards called, had then been but recently organized. The First Presbyterian Church of Allegheny Town was only about one year and six months old.

The Synod consisted of eight Presbyteries—Redstone, Ohio, Erie, Hartford, Washington, Steubenville, Allegheny, and Blairsville. Covering a large extent of territory, it embraced the towns of Somerset, Morgantown, Fairview, Erie, Youngstown, New Lisbon, St. Clairsville, Wheeling, Steubenville, and Washington. Francis Herron was in Pittsburgh, Samuel Ralston was at Mingo, Thomas D. Baird was at Lebanon, Robert Johnston was at Rehoboth and Round Hill, Johnston Eaton was at Fairview, Wm. O. Stratton was at Canfield, Robert Sample was at New Castle, Samuel Tait was at Mercer, Clement Vallandigham was at New Lisbon, John Anderson was at Upper Buffalo, David Elliott was at Washington, John Coulter was at Butler, John Munson was at Plaingrove.

George Lyon had commenced his labors at Erie, John Stockton at Cross Creek, William Smith at Miller's Run, Charles C. Beatty at Steubenville, Ashbel G. Fairchild at George's Creek, and Watson Hughes at Saltsburg; Timothy Alden and Matthew Brown were

the Presidents of the respective institutions of Meadville and Canonsburg; while Luther Halsey and John W. Nevin, then a licentiate, were professors in our Theological Seminary.

In 1831, the General Assembly had only 20 synods, while in 1875 it reports 36. There were only five of these to the West of us—Ohio with five Presbyteries, Western Reserve with five Presbyteries, Cincinnati with four Presbyteries, Indiana with five Presbyteries, and Illinois with four Presbyteries.

And then how much like a child in its tender infancy was our scheme of systematic benevolence. How very primitive and meagre are the statistical reports of that day. There are only four columns for benevolence—missions, commissioners' fund, education, and theological seminaries;—and the number of blanks is suggestive of churches as yet undisciplined in the grace of giving.

Yet notwithstanding all, these fathers were strong in the confidence of faith. The heathen were perishing. It was in their hearts to send chosen, consecrated men as their representatives to Asia and Africa, just so soon as their society could be organized.

At the meeting of the Synod in the city of Pittsburgh, in October, 1831, an overture on missions was reported by the appropriate committee, and after considerable discussion was referred to the Rev. Messrs. Elisha P. Swift, Luther Halsey, James Hervey, Samuel Tait, and Thomas Hunt, to report thereon as soon as practicable. On the following Monday afternoon they reported a preamble full of bold and inspiring sentiment, in which they say in substance: That the signs of the times call upon all who love the Saviour to send the Gospel to those who sit in pagan darkness—that they have no desire to depreciate the exertions of Christians in Europe or America—that they acknowledge with pleasure the truly splendid operations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and that they recur with grateful sentiments to the humbler efforts of the Western Missionary Society of their own Synod.

Still, they say, the resources of the Presbyterian Church are slumbering in inaction; the American Board is too remote to develop the benevolence of our churches; the honest predilections of our people demand an organization under ecclesiastical control, and no other judicatory of the Presbyterian Church, it is believed by them, can now act on this subject with so much propriety and unanimity as this.

Then, disclaiming all party feeling, and trusting to the aid and guidance of the God of missions, they resolved, "That it is expedient forthwith to establish a Society or Board of Foreign Missions, on such a plan as will admit of the co-operation of such parts of the Presbyterian Church as may think proper to unite with it in this great and important concern."

They then adopted the Constitution of the Western Foreign Missionary Society of the United States, according to which the society was to be composed of the members of sessions and churches of the Synod of Pittsburgh, and other synods and presbyteries, which might formally unite with them. The centre of operation was to be in the city of Pittsburgh, and no change of location was to be effected without the consent of this Synod, and in the event of such a change, the synodical supervision, for which provision had been made, was to be transferred to the General Assembly, or to that particular Synod in whose bounds the operations of the society should be concentrated.

The Board of Directors was to consist of six ministers and six elders chosen by the Synod, of persons residing in Pittsburgh or its vicinity, to which were to be added one minister and one elder, chosen from and by each of the eight Presbyteries in the Synod; the Board thus having, as originally constituted, twenty-eight members. Its officers were a President, Vice-president, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer. The Executive Committee was to consist of five ministers and four ruling elders, besides the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, who were to be members *ex-officio*.

The Board was to meet annually in May, and a discourse was to be delivered in its presence, on some appropriate subject.

The following were the first Directors of the Society, for Pittsburgh and vicinity:

For three years—Rev. E. P. Swift, Rev. A. D. Campbell, Mr. Harmer Denny, Mr. Samuel Thompson.

For two years—Rev. Francis Herron, D.D., Rev. Luther Halsey, Mr. John Hannen, Mr. James Wilson.

For one year—Rev. Robert Patterson, Rev. Thomas D. Baird, Mr. Benjamin Williams, Mr. Francis G. Bailey.

FOR PRESBYTERIES.

Redstone—Rev. A. O. Patterson, Mr. A. Johnston.
Ohio—Rev. Matthew Brown, D.D., Mr. J. Herriott.
Erie—Rev. Samuel Tait, Mr. J. Reynolds.
Washington—Rev. David Elliott, Mr. J. McFarren.
Hartford—Rev. Wm. McLean, Mr. J. Clark.
Steubenville—Rev. C. C. Beatty, Mr. D. Hoge.
Allegheny—Rev. J. Coulter, Mr. B. Gardiner.
Blairsville—Rev. S. McFarren, Mr. T. Pollock.

For a number of years the organization of the Board was as follows: Hon. Harmer Denny, was President; Rev. Thomas D. Baird, Vice-president; Rev. A. D. Campbell, Rev. C. C. Beatty, and Rev. George Marshall, filled, in succession, the office of Recording Secretary; Rev. Elisha P. Swift was Corresponding Secretary; Rev. Elisha Macurdy, Treasurer; Mr. Samuel Thompson, Assistant Treasurer.

This whole movement of the Synod appears *to us* so eminently legitimate and proper, that we can see no good reason why any other Synod of the church, or the General Assembly itself, might not have originated it. And yet the preamble says: "It is believed that no other judicatory of the Presbyterian Church can act on this subject with so much propriety and unanimity." But neither this clause in the preamble, nor the provisions of the constitution, nor the arguments contained in early official papers, can be fully appreciated unless examined in connection with the history of those times.

It should be remembered then, that for several years the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, still dear to many a heart, had been the medium through which a portion of our churches had conducted their foreign missionary work. Growing in influence and power, it had been attracting toward, and merging in itself, all smaller organizations. With the assumption of their pecuniary obligations, it could, of course, claim a corresponding generous support. In 1826 it had thus received into union with itself the United Missionary Society, an organization in the support of which the Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, and Associate Reformed Churches were united; the General Assembly amid the dissatisfaction of many, going no further than to consent to the union.

The arguments by which this process of absorption was justified were these: The friendly relations subsisting between Congregationalists and Presbyterians would be promoted by co-operation—the same Gospel was preached by the representatives of each society—funds for each organization were obtained from the same individuals and churches, and there was danger of collision; the most rigid economy was demanded in missionary operations, and money may be saved in the salaries of agents, officers, etc. These arguments for the union of societies were just and valid, to the minds of those who used them, against *new organizations* under ecclesiastical control. Men who could skilfully use this logic were to be found in almost every congregation, Presbytery, Synod, and Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, ready to baffle the advocates of ecclesiastical supervision with expedients, the narration of which would make the listener alternately relax his muscles and knit his brow.

It was in the midst of such controversies that the fathers of Western Pennsylvania organized the Western Foreign Missionary Society.

They "believed that the Presbyterian Church (we are quoting from a report of those times) owes it as a sacred duty to her glorified Head to yield a far more exemplary obedience, and that in her distinctive character as a Church, to the command which He gave at his ascension into heaven, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.' It is believed to be among the causes of the frowns of the great Head of the Church, which are now resting upon our beloved Zion, in the declension of vital piety and the disorders and divisions that distract us, that we have done so little—comparatively nothing—in our distinctive character as a Church of Christ, to send the gospel to the heathen, the Jews, and the Mohammedans."

We have a specimen of the logic which was current in all their discussions, found in a paper from the pen of the Corresponding Secretary.

"On what appointment," says the writer, "do pastors and elders sit in the house of God and hold the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, but that which commissions them to go and disciple all nations?

"If, at the bar of such courts, by the very fact of their lawful exis-

tence, the perishing heathen have no right to sue out the payment of a Redeemer's mercy, then the most material object of their sitting is cancelled; and that neglected, starving portion of mankind, who enter with a specific claim, are turned out to find relief by an appeal to the sympathy of particular disciples. Will 'the Head of all principality and power' stay in judicatories where the laws of his kingdom are so expounded? Until something more is done for the conversion of the nations, what article on the docket of business can be relevant at any meeting, if this is not? Shall a worthless, unsound delinquent be told that, according to the Word of God, and the constitution of the Church, he has a right to come and consume hours of time in trifling litigation; and shall a world of benighted men, who have received as yet no hearing, and no mercy, and no information that Jesus has left a deposit for them also, be turned over to the slow and uncertain compassion of individuals?"

Almost all of the fathers who were in the memorable Synod of 1831 lived to see the principle of ecclesiastical supervision fully endorsed by the General Assembly. Thirty-eight years ago it adopted the missionary organization which had its origin here. It has conducted its enterprises of Home Missions, Publication, Education, Church Erection, and Aid to Freedmen in a similar manner. And in later years, there has been no principle, to the unqualified support of which all parties have been so ready to rally in the re-united Presbyterian Church, as to this—the ecclesiastical supervision of all benevolent work.

The first Corresponding Secretary of the Society was the Rev. Elisha P. Swift. He was born in Williamstown, Mass., August 12, 1792, and received his collegiate education in the venerable and prosperous institution located there. Descended from John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, in his familiar conversations with his children he would sometimes refer with sentiments of great admiration to the missionary labors of his illustrious ancestor. Shortly before he commenced his academic studies in Williams College, a deep concern for the perishing heathen had been awakened in some of its most pious and devoted students. There it was that Samuel John Mills, Jr., James Richards, and Gordon Hall, had been communing frequently together. Their memorable hay-stack prayer-meeting had been held in 1807, and the interest thus commenced resulted in

the organization of the American Board in 1810. It is not known how far these influences may have affected the character and purpose of Elisha P. Swift. But early in his Christian life he resolved to consecrate himself to the missionary work. He was accepted by the American Board, and ordained by a Congregational council in the Park Street Church, Boston, on the 3d day of September, 1817. In a few months however, a combination of circumstances over which he had no control, directed his feet toward another field. After having supplied the Presbyterian Church of Dover, Delaware, for one year, he was called to the Second Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, and on being installed in 1819, he entered with interest into all the missionary enterprises of the Synod. In 1821 he had visited Maumee with Rev. Michael Law, for the purpose of establishing, under the Board of Trust, an Indian mission. In 1831 he had been in the Synod for twelve years, and was, of course, well acquainted with the sentiments of its members. After having sought the advice of esteemed fathers in other portions of the Church, and having received the approval and encouragement of Drs. Ashbel Green, Archibald Alexander, and Samuel Miller, he took a very active part in the organization of the Western Foreign Missionary Society. He was the author of the overture by which the subject was brought to the attention of the Synod, as also of the preamble and constitution afterward reported by the special committee, and adopted by the Synod. His fervid and touching appeals overcame all who were still scrupulously cautious and hesitating. All varieties of feeling were fused by him into one harmonious sentiment, and the whole Synod prepared for united and energetic action.

It is a delicate task which has been assigned to us. We claim to know something of the character and labors of Elisha P. Swift, but we forbear. Filial love and admiration might make us oblivious alike of brevity and propriety.

It may not be improper however, to quote a few statements from the writings of others.

Rev. Ashbel Green, D.D., in his "History of Missions," says: "It is due to Rev. Elisha P. Swift to state that its origin is to be traced principally to his ardent zeal in the missionary cause, and to his views of the importance of an institution organized in the manner exhibited in the foregoing documents."

Rev. S. J. Wilson D.D., in his address at the funeral of Dr. Swift, said: "He had no desire to have his name trumpeted through the world, yet the church to which he belonged will always cherish his name as the founder of her Board of Foreign Missions."

Rev. James Allison, D.D., made this statement in a notice of Dr. Swift's death published in the *Presbyterian Banner*: "While the Presbyterian Church lasts—as long as a history of Foreign Missions remains, the name of Elisha P. Swift will be remembered. He was at all times ready to advocate with wonderful power every good cause; but the very mention of Foreign Missions fired his soul with quenchless ardor, and made his voice the sound of a trumpet calling to conflict and victory."

Rev. Wm. D. Howard, D.D., in a history of the Board of Foreign Missions, delivered at a convention held in Pittsburgh in 1872, says: "And many, I am persuaded, will retain, so long as memory continues to perform its office, a recollection of his fervid eloquence as, rising with his theme, his great eye all aglow with the fire of genius, his heart heaving with emotion, and his majestic form raised to its full height, in trumpet tones he declaimed against sin, or

> **In strains as sweet**
> **As angels use,**

he pleaded with sinners to be reconciled to God. This great and good man may be regarded as the founder of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions."

Then Dr. Howard adds: "He had able and earnest coadjutors. In his own Synod, there was Dr. John McMillan, whose iron sinews laid the foundations of our Presbyterian Zion in Western Pennsylvania; and Francis Herron, that great-hearted Christian gentleman, and Matthew Brown, the gifted and skillful Christian educator, and Charles C. Beatty, a descendant of the first American minister who ever preached the gospel where this great city now stands, and David Elliott, who, at the age of more than fourscore, still lingers among us, yet helping the cause of Christ by his wise counsels and earnest prayers. And besides, there was the earnest and generous Campbell, the saintly Macurdy, the clear-sighted McFarren, and many others. And these ministers were aided in the work by a noble band of intelligent and devoted elders, among whom were the

Hon. Harmar Denny, and Samuel Thompson, and John Hannen, and Francis G. Bailey, and Richard Edwards, and many besides. Beyond the bounds of his own Synod, Dr. Swift was favored with the counsels and encouragement of such men as Dr. Ashbel Green of Philadelphia, and Drs. Archibald Alexander and Samuel Miller of Princeton, and John Breckenridge of Baltimore, and Joshua Wilson of Cincinnati, and William W. Phillips of New York, whose church was, at the beginning, one of the most liberal contributors to this cause, as it has continued to be from that time till this."

Rev. Charles C. Beatty, D.D., has recently made this statement: "I consider Rev. Elisha P. Swift, D.D., to have been really the father and founder of our Presbyterian Foreign Mission work; and I think he should be prominently presented as bringing forward and greatly furthering this work in its inception, as distinctively under church organization.

"My first introduction to Mr. Swift was in connection with the work of missions. When he came on to the General Assembly, in the spring of 1822, he was charged by the Synodical Board of Trust with obtaining a Superintendent for their newly established Indian mission on the Maumee. He applied to the Professors at Princeton, who referred him to me. I had been appointed the previous fall, in connection with a class-mate, by the United Foreign Missionary Society, to establish a mission among the Indians on the Columbia river. This enterprise failed for want of support from Congress, and the Professors knew that I was disengaged, and might desire to be employed in other mission service. I had several conferences with Mr. Swift on the subject, and though I felt constrained to decline the appointment, it tended to establish a friendship between us which strengthened by future associations, continued through life. In passing through Pittsburgh the next October, on my way to my mission field in the West, he was the first to call and invite me to preach for him the ensuing Sabbath morning, and I preached in the First Church in the afternoon. The brethren in Pittsburgh were instrumental in obtaining my settlement in Steubenville the next summer, and my associations with them were always most intimate. I found Bro. Swift always foremost and most enthusiastic in the Foreign Mission work.

"When it was proposed in the Synod to transfer our Missions to

the United Missionary Society, then about to be merged in the A. B. F. M., we were both of us reluctant, and spoke against it, though finally acquiescing. The Synod very generally and cordially co-operated with the American Board in its work, but he was never fully reconciled to the church giving up missions to a voluntary association. He was already ahead of most in his conviction that the church should herself do this work through her organized forms. This induced him finally to bring his plans before Synod, where it met at first with but a cold reception. Most felt entire confidence in the working of the A. B. F. M., and some argued that it would be dishonorable towards that Board to set up an independent Society. But Mr. Swift was not discouraged, and his strong statements as to the church's duty, his forcible arguments for immediate action, his burning missionary zeal, and fervid eloquence, finally carried the Synod, and his plan was adopted. This was the commencement of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, and here was laid the foundation of our Board of Foreign Missions. His ardor in the cause, his earnest effort, his untiring energy and popular address, did much to recommend it to the people and make it a success."

For nearly two years, Elisha P. Swift discharged the duties of Corresponding Secretary gratuitously, devoting to them a portion of time amid his numerous pastoral engagements. Contrary to the anticipations even of its friends however, the Society was early beginning to win the sympathy and co-operation of Presbyteries and Synods both East and West. The business of the secretary was becoming so extensive and onerous, as to demand the labors of one who could devote all his time and energy to it. The Board therefore, instead of accepting the resignation of Dr. Swift, took steps to have the pastoral relation between him and the Second Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh dissolved. He finally yielded to the urgent solicitations of his brethren, and sundered ties which bound him to a people among whom he had labored in unbroken harmony for nearly fourteen years. He preached his farewell sermon on Sabbath, March 3d, 1833, and from that date until he resigned his office, his life was crowded with varied and pressing employment. He was engaged in soliciting funds as general agent, in presenting the claims of the Society to Synods and Presbyteries, in

preparing "instructions," commonly delivered to departing missionaries before large and interested audiences, in providing for missionaries their outfits and securing their passages, in editing the *Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, in conducting correspondence with missionaries in the field, with young men in the theological seminaries, and with the friends and patrons of the Society generally. In his journal he refers at this period to the distracted condition of the church, the influence of older and more powerful missionary organizations, his conscious unfitness for *some duties* of his office, his necessary absence from his family, the injury being done to his habits of study, and the interruption to secret devotions incidental to traveling, as abating at times the enjoyment which he had in his work. He resigned his office in September, 1835, to take charge of the First Presbyterian Church of Allegheny, but continued to serve the Board until his successor accepted the position.

Hon. Walter Lowrie was the second Corresponding Secretary of the Board. He was born near Edinburgh, Scotland, on the 10th day of December, 1784, and was only eight years old when he came to America. His family soon removed to Butler County, Pa., where, in his eighteenth year, he experienced God's converting grace in one of those revivals of religion which have made memorable the early history of Western Pennsylvania. It was then his desire to enter the ministry, and he even commenced his preparatory studies under Rev. John McPherrin, the pioneer Presbyterian of that region. Though providential events intercepted his purpose to preach the gospel, there were other services awaiting him, in the future, most congenial to his feelings, while not less promotive of the Master's glory. After occupying for six years a position in the United States Senate as a representative of Pennsylvania, he was elected Secretary of the same body, in which position he continued for twelve years. It was while thus engaged that he was called by the Western Foreign Missionary Society to become its Corresponding Secretary. Nor is it surprising that the mind of the Board should have been turned toward him. His holy enthusiasm in the missionary enterprise found expression in one of the first large offerings the society received. It was the donation of $1,000, conveyed in a manner as unostentatious as the gift was munificent. It came as an offering from an unknown friend, to be appropriated to the

salary of Elisha P. Swift during his first year of service as secretary after he had given up his pastoral charge. The position to which Mr. Lowrie was called in 1835, he continued to occupy for thirty-two years. At the meeting of the Board of Foreign Missions in 1868 he declined, on account of increasing bodily infirmities, to be put again in nomination for the office. The Board, while reluctantly accepting his declinature, testified in appropriate resolutions to his distinguished ability, untiring zeal, and most conscientious faithfulness. In parting with their venerable and honored Secretary, they say, they follow him with their warmest wishes and prayers, that God's grace would succor and cheer him, and at last minister to him an abundant entrance into his heavenly kingdom. He entered into rest on the 14th day of December, 1868, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

Rev. William M. Paxton, D.D., says in his address at the funeral, referring to his acceptance of the office pressed upon him: "The work was new and compassed on every side with difficulties. The Church was to be aroused, the spirit of missions enkindled, and the system of co-operation was to be organized."

His wisdom and executive capacity in the office were only excelled by his power to enlist attention and awaken interest in behalf of his cause. With no pretention to oratory, he went before the people in the most humble way, presenting in a conversational style his simple statement; but warming with the deep interest of his theme, he grew eloquent, and seldom closed without riveting his subject upon the conscience, or moving his audience to tears.

He had wise and able counsellors in the Board and in the Executive Committee, and often the assistance of the most eloquent voices in the Church to commend his cause; but during the whole thirty years of his incumbency, Walter Lowrie was himself the efficient head of the missionary work and the controlling power in its administration.

The Western Foreign Missionary Society, at the time of its transfer to the Board of Foreign Missions of the General Assembly, had occupied four distinct fields of labor, and was about to take possession of a fifth. Brief biographical notices of the heroic servants of God, who labored for longer or shorter periods in these respective missions, will be given at the end of this history. Their faith

and courage can scarcely be appreciated in these modern times. Facilities in travel have brought India, China and Japan, Syria and South America, nearer than they were forty years ago. Besides, the physical constitution demanded by each missionary field is now better understood. Our Boards consider other qualifications, in addition to ardent temperament, earnest piety, and missionary zeal. Its executive officers feel under solemn obligation to discourage the overtures of those whose powers of endurance would not be equal to the work. Then too, medical science has advanced, and judicious advisors are much more accessible than formerly. And moreover, many mission-fields now have their sanitariums, their healthful and bracing atmospheres, like Woodstock, in India, to which the weary and exhausted may repair. The number who now early fall upon the field, or return in an enfeebled condition, is much smaller than in the beginning. In view of these things, the life of a missionary will not now appear to be the perilous, uncertain, self-renouncing service it was when the Western Foreign Missionary Society was organized.

One of these missions was Northern India. On the 30th of May, 1833, the Board sent out Rev. Messrs. William Reed (22), (see biographies), and John C. Lowrie (13), and their wives. Mrs. Louisa Lowrie (14) died in Calcutta. Failing health compelled Mr. Reed to return without delay to America. He died during the voyage, in the Bay of Bengal, and Mrs Reed remained in America. Rev. John C. Lowrie proceeded to Lodiana, and after several years of labor, left India as the only hope of saving his life.

On the 4th of November, 1834, Rev. Messrs. James Wilson (24), and John Newton (17), and their wives, with Miss Julia A. Davis (6), were sent out to reinforce the Lodiana mission.

On the 16th of November, 1834, Rev. J. R. Campbell (4), of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and Rev. James McEwen (15), with Messrs. Jesse M. Jamieson (9) (10), William S. Rogers (23), Joseph Porter (20) (21), and their wives, also sailed for this field.

The Western Foreign Missionary Society had five stations in India: Lodiana, Allahabad, Futtehgurh, Saharunpur, and Sabathu.

A second mission was Western Africa. In 1832 the Society appointed Rev. Messrs. Joseph Barr (1), and John B. Pinney (19), to this field. The former died of cholera in Richmond, five days

before the time fixed for embarking. The latter sailed for Monrovia, and did effective service until constrained by shattered health to relinquish the field.

In November, 1833, Rev. Matthew Laird and wife (12), and Rev. John Cloud (5), sailed for Africa. Soon after their labors had commenced, the three were, within a few days, called to their heavenly rest. Mr. James Temple, a colored licentiate who had been sent out with them, soon returned to the United States, and resided for a number of years in Philadelphia. In 1834, Mr. J. T. C. Findley went out to Africa, but was compelled to return in 1835, and the same year the society sent out Mr. E. Tytler, a colored licentiate. He did not live, however, to render much service.

A third mission of the society was to the North American Indians. In November, 1833, it sent out Rev. Messrs. Wells Bushnell (2), and Joseph Kerr (11), and their wives, with Miss Nancy Henderson (7), and Miss Julia Boal to the Wea Indians—a tribe on territory now in the State of Kansas. Miss Boal was injured by being thrown from a carriage, in the State of Missouri, on her way to the field. She was left at Columbus, in that State, where, after having sufficiently recovered, she taught school for a time. She never rejoined the mission. Mr. Henry Bradly was also sent out as a farmer, and still later Mr. E. Sheppard.

In 1835, Mr. Aurey Ballard and wife, with Mr. F. H. Lindsay and wife, and in March, 1837, Mr. Samuel M. Irwin (8), and wife, were appointed missionaries to the Iowas. Mr. Ballard left the mission in 1842, and died in Richardson county in the State of Nebraska, a few years ago. He labored in the mission in the capacity of a farmer. His wife who is also dead, was a most excellent teacher.

A fourth mission was Smyrna. Rev. Josiah Brewer (3), and Mr. Thomas Brown, a printer, and his wife, sailed for this field in March, 1836. The unexpected return of Mr. Brown, and a previous understanding had with Mr. Brewer, led the Board to reconsider its purpose to send out Rev. Wm. McCombs and Mr. John McClintock, and to relinquish the field.

A fifth mission was China. Rev. Robert W. Orr (18), and wife, with Rev. A. Mitchell (16), sailed on the 11th of December, 1837. The latter was soon called to his eternal rest, and the former with

health greatly impaired, returned to the United States. It was after the appointment of this band, and while they were preparing to embark, that the supervision of the society with all its missions, was accepted by the General Assembly.

The transfer in the location of the society from Pittsburgh to New York, was made in 1837. During the first six years of its existence, it had extended its limits far beyond the Synod of Pittsburgh. Minister and laymen in prominent positions, and with controlling influences, had given it their warmest support. Distant presbyteries had accepted its conditions and sent their representatives to appear in its Board. A growing conviction prevailed in the minds of many of its warmest friends in Pittsburgh and elsewhere that its efficiency would be greatly promoted by its removal to one of the principal Eastern cities. It had been supposed that some such change would result from a movement made in the General Assemblies of 1835 and 1836, to have that body accept the transfer of the society. But after a protracted and earnest debate, the Assembly of 1836 declined, by a majority of one, to receive it. Thus numerous and decided were the supporters of the American Board in that Assembly; and without waiting for the uncertain issues of those tempestuous times, the Board of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, at its annual meeting, held on the 23d day of May, 1837, in the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, decided to transfer the centre of operation from Pittsburgh to New York. And while there was not entire unanimity in this surrender of location, all present ultimately acquiesced. A number of brethren residing in Pittsburgh resigned, by letter, their places on the Board, that they might be filled by persons in and about New York. Rev. Messrs. W. W. Phillips, D.D., Joseph McElroy, D.D., John M. Krebs, Nicholas Murray, E. W. Crane, George Potts, and Elders Moses Allen, James Lenox, and James Paton, were chosen to fill the vacancies, and the name and style of the society was made the "Presbyterian Foreign Missionary Society."

The effort, which had failed in previous Assemblies, was more successful in 1837. That body resolved, by a vote of 108 to 29, "That the General Assembly will superintend and conduct, by its own proper authority, the work of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, by a Board appointed for that purpose, and directly amenable to said Assembly."

It made provision for a Board of eighty members, with necessary offices, and an Executive Committee. Among those chosen by this same Assembly, as members of the Board, we find these names: Ministers, W. W. Phillips, D.D., Joseph McElroy, D.D., John M. Krebs, Elias W. Crane, George Potts, Nicholas Murray, Ashbel Green, D.D., Francis Herron, D.D., Matthew Brown, D.D., Elisha P. Swift, Thomas D. Baird, David Elliott, D.D. Laymen, James Lenox, James Paton, Moses Allen, Harmer Denny, John Hannen, Samuel Thompson. Indeed, the Board of the "Presbyterian Foreign Missionary Society," located two weeks before at New York, was, by this election, incorporated with the Assembly's Board.

The Assembly gave this Board power to receive a transfer of foreign missionary societies now existing in the Presbyterian Church, with all missions and funds under their care.

It was not more specific with regard to the society just located at New York, because it was supposed that the "Central Board of Foreign Missions," within the Synod of Virginia, and the Southern Board of Foreign Missions, within the Synod of South Carolina, would also be transferred.

On the 31st of October, 1837, the Board elected by the Assembly at Philadelphia six months before, convened in the First Church, Baltimore, when the Presbyterian Foreign Missionary Society was received, by transfer, from the Synods of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. It then had forty-five missionaries; though eight of these were then on their way to their fields of labor, three were expecting daily to embark; seven were detained for the present for want of funds, and two were in this country for other causes. Eleven of these were ordained ministers, five were teachers, one was a printer and book binder, and twenty were women.

It had under its care three presses, one high school, and two boarding schools.

The receipts for the year ending October 15 were $40,266, and the balance in hand, $5,784, which, they say, would be wanted for the China Mission.

The *Missionary Chronicle*, included of course in the transfer, was made the organ of the Board, and measures were taken to enlarge it and extend its circulation.

From this review several statements may be deduced.

1. The Presbyterian form of government is adapted to the vigorous prosecution of missions.

2. Western Pennsylvania is greatly indebted to missionary efforts, inasmuch as it was through them that her earliest and most influential churches have been organized.

3. The early religious history of Western Pennsylvania commits all Presbyterian Churches to the constant, generous, and unwavering support to the Boards of Home and Foreign Missions.

We cannot ignore the labors of the fathers, nor be indifferent to the organizations for which they freely gave their money, toils, and prayers.

4. The ground on which this First Church of Pittsburgh stands is rich in precious associations. Events as important in their religious influence as any that have occurred on this Western continent have been witnessed here. They are felt to-day to the ends of the earth, nor will their influence cease while time shall last. These associations should be treasured and used to stimulate our effort.

5. Success in missionary effort depends on faith in God and earnest prayer. The resolution of the fathers was, "For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake will I not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth."

BIOGRAPHIES OF MISSIONARIES,

APPOINTED BY THE

WESTERN FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

From its Organization, until the Transfer, 1831-1837. Arranged alphabetically.

(1) Rev. Joseph Welsh Barr.

Mr. Barr was born in Trumbull county, Ohio, on the 22d day of July, 1802, and was the son of Rev. Thomas Barr. His father had removed from Western Pennsylvania in the spring of 1800. Joseph was apprenticed to learn the house carpenter business, when he was sixteen years old. He graduated at Western Reserve College, and studied theology at Andover and Princeton. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, on the 12th day of October, 1832. He died of Asiatic cholera, in the city of Richmond, Va., on the 26th day of October, of the same year, and but five days before the time fixed for sailing from Norfolk for the western coast of Africa. His early history was so rich in material, his religious experience so instructive, and the circumstances of his death so impressive, that a memoir was compiled by Rev. Elisha P. Swift, D.D., in 1833, which has been more recently revised and republished by the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

(2) Rev. Wells Bushnell.

Mr. Bushnell was born in Hartford, Conn., in April 1799. He experienced renewing grace in the city of Pittsburgh, when about seventeen years old, and connected himself with the First Presbyterian Church, under the pastoral care of Rev. Francis Herron, D.D. He graduated at Jefferson College, and completed his theological training at Princeton. He was licensed by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, and on the 25th day of April, 1826, he was united in marriage with Miss Elenor Hannen, a daughter of John Hannen, for some years an elder in the First Presbyterian Church, Allegheny. Mr. Bushnell was ordained by the Presbytery of Erie, and installed

pastor of the church of Meadville on the 22d day of June, 1826. This relation was continued until the 26th day of June, 1833, when it was dissolved, at his own request, the Western Foreign Missionary Society having accepted him as a missionary to the Indians. In company with the Rev. Joseph Kerr and wife, he and his wife left Pittsburgh, on the 6th day of November, 1833. Their labors were principally among the Wea Indians, and were attended with sickness and exhaustion to Mr. Bushnell and his family. After a year and a half therefore, he was compelled to leave the Indian country. He supplied for a time the First Presbyterian Church of Louisville, Ky., and after that, the churches of Greensburg and Shelbyville, Indiana. From February, 1836, to April, 1838, he was a member of the Presbytery of Indianapolis. On the 18th day of April, 1839, he was dismissed from the Presbytery of Erie to that of Beaver, with a view to his installation as pastor of the church of New Castle, Pa., in which relation he continued for fifteen years and a half. He then connected himself with the Free Presbyterian Church, and ministered to the churches of Mount Jackson in Lawrence county, and New Bedford in Mercer county, until his death. This occurred at Mount Jackson, on the 16th day of July, 1863, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

Mr. Bushnell was of medium height, slender but erect, quick and nervous in his movements. He was strong in his convictions and fearless in his utterances. Even amid the agitations which ultimately led him to sever rather abruptly his connection with the Presbytery of Beaver, his brethren never lost confidence in his piety and devotion. He was a faithful pastor, evangelical in his preaching, and the zealous advocate of every humane and benevolent work. At this date Mrs. Elenor Bushnell is residing in Youngstown, Ohio.

(3) Rev. Josiah Brewer.

Mr. Brewer sailed for Smyrna on the 28th day of March, 1836. He was not without considerable experience in the mission work of that region. He had been operating for nearly ten years among the Jews, having been sent out in September, 1826, by a Ladies' Society in Boston. His appointment by the Pittsburgh Society, and his continued support in that field, was based on certain conditions suggested by Mr. Brewer himself. During the winter of 1836–37,

Rev. Wm. McCombs and Mr. John McClintock, and their wives, were appointed to this field of labor, and expected soon to sail. But on the eve of the departure of this proposed reinforcement, Mr. Brown, a printer and bookbinder, who had gone out with Mr. Brewer, returned to the United States without any consultation whatever with the Society. The unnecessary return of Mr. Brown led the Society to reconsider the whole subject of the mission in Smyrna. And inasmuch as the conditions in regard to Mr. Brewer's support had not been fulfilled, the Society released him from further connection with them, expressing their warm desire for his future usefulness.

(4) Rev. James Robinson Campbell, D.D.

Mr. Campbell was born near Omagh, County Tyrone, Ireland, in the year 1800. He arrived in Philadelphia in 1824, and while serving as a clerk he devoted his spare time to study, under the care of that distinguished classical scholar, the late Joseph P. Engles, Esq., many of whose pupils have obtained great eminence.

His theological studies were pursued under Dr. Samuel Brown Wylie, in the Reformed Presbyterian Seminary at Philadelphia. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Philadelphia of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, in October, 1834. He embarked for India on the 16th day of November, 1835, in company with Rev. James McEwen, Messrs. Jamieson, Rogers, and Porter. His station was Saharunpur, Northwest Province, India. He visited the United States in 1847–48, and his pulpit addresses on the subject of missions are still remembered by many.

The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., in 1856. He died at Landour, Himalaya Mountains, India, on the 18th of September, 1862, in the sixty-second year of his age, having been a missionary in India over twenty-six years. His widow, Mrs. Mary Ann Campbell, survived him only a few years, and died in India.

All of Dr. Campbell's sons who came to manhood have entered the ministry.

The eldest son, Rev. Thomas Cochran Campbell, died in Marion, O., June 8th, 1862, after two years of successful work for Christ. The second son, Rev. James Robinson Campbell, is the pastor of

the Presbyterian Church of May's Landing, Atlantic county, New Jersey. The third son, Rev. George Stuart Campbell, is pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Williamstown, New Jersey, also supplying the Church of Franklinville, in the same State.

One of Dr. Campbell's daughters became the wife of Col. Morgan, of the British Army, and the other two are at present engaged in the missionary work in India.

Rev. T. W. J. Wylie, D.D., to whom we are indebted for some of these facts, also makes this statement:

"The instructions and example of parents, eminent for godliness, laid the foundation for the character which he afterwards developed. Shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia, he obtained employment in the service of J. H. Warder, one of the principal merchants in the city. Mr. Warder was a member of the Society of Friends, and his views in regard to the observance of the Sabbath were not as strict as those of the young Irish Presbyterian. Mr. Campbell having refused to attend to some work on the Sabbath, which he considered unsuitable for that day, his employer threatened to dismiss him, but he was inflexible, and declared that he would prefer losing his place to doing anything which his conscience condemned. His firmness gained the respect and confidence of Mr. Warder, and he not only retained him in his employment but made him his confidential clerk. Having become a member of the First Reformed Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, he at once took a class in Sabbath-school, a work in which he greatly delighted, and in which he was remarkably successful. His attention having been drawn to the condition of the heathen world, he endeavored to excite an interest in that object in the church with which he was connected, among other things, introducing into the Sabbath-school the system of collection for Foreign Missions by purses in all the classes.

"Having devoted himself to the life of a foreign missionary, and a society having been formed in Mercer county, Pa., by members of the Presbyterian, the Associate, the Associate Reformed, and the Reformed Presbyterian Churches, to support a Foreign Missionary in connection with any one of these donominations, he was accepted by them and sent out to India, under the direction of the Western Foreign Missionary Society of Pittsburgh. He arrived at Saharunpur, his station in India, on November 10th, 1836. Here he labored

assiduously for twenty-seven years, with the exception of a short period in 1847 and 1848, during which he made a visit to his native land and to America. While in this country, he delivered in several places a course of lectures on Foreign Missions in India, which were afterwards published in a duodecimo volume by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. He also contributed largely to the religious press, being a letter writer of superior excellence. He was indefatigable in his labors, and besides his services at his own station, he made frequent itinerations, and also acted as treasurer for the entire mission. He devoted much of his attention to the education of the native youth, in which he was eminently successful, a large number of those under his care having renounced heathenism, and received the Christian religion, several of whom have become ordained ministers or licentiates, or Scripture readers. One of the handsomest churches in upper India was erected at Saharunpur by his agency. His reluctance to intermit his labors hastened, if it did not cause, his death, which was a fitting close to his long and useful life. Tranquil and triumphant he passed from earth to heaven, from sacrifice and toil to rest and his reward. He was a man of warm heart, and a judgment remarkably sagacious, energetic, animated, genial, modest, with a profound devotion to the Saviour, which controlled all his actions. In person he was of medium height, well rounded face, a clear complexion, and a robust frame."

(5) Rev. John Cloud.

Mr. Cloud was born on the 9th of December, 1801, in Cross Creek Township, Washington county, Penna. His father, Mr. John Cloud, was an elder in the Church of Raccoon, Washington county, during the pastorate of Rev. Moses Allen, and afterward in the Church of Hopewell, Beaver county, under the ministry of Rev. James D. Ray. He next served as an elder in two churches under the charge of Rev. William Reed, Long's Run in Columbiana county, Ohio, and Salem in Beaver county, Pa.

The subject of this notice graduated at Jefferson College in 1830, and the same year entered the Allegheny Seminary and prosecuted the full course of study. He was ordained by the Presbytery of

New York in the Brick Church (Dr. Spring's) on the 11th day of October, 1833, with a view to the foreign missionary work.

Without being married, he sailed with Matthew Laird and wife for Africa, on the 6th of November, 1833. Not many weeks after reaching Monrovia he was prostrated by the African fever. Before being fully restored, he so exposed himself as to bring on malignant dysentery, from which he died, April 9, 1834.

Rev. David X. Junkin, D.D., has given his recollection of Mr. Cloud as follows: "He was rather below medium height, slightly built, stooped forward a little, of fair complexion, light brown hair, blue eyes, very pleasant features, a man of warm affections, and very genial and kind in his manners."

There are two brothers and one sister of Rev. John Cloud still surviving. They reside in Hookstown, Beaver county, Pa.

(6) Miss Julia A. Davis.

Miss Davis sailed for India, in company with Rev. John Newton and Rev. James Wilson and their wives, November 4, 1834.

Soon after her arrival in Calcutta overtures of marriage were made to her by Rev. John Goadby, a missionary at Cattack, under the patronage of the General Baptist Missionary Society of England. In view of the statements made to her that the way did not then appear to be opened for *unmarried females* to labor effectively in India, Miss Davis was disposed, after a time, to accept the proposal; and they were accordingly married on April 1, 1835. She withdrew her connection from the Pittsburgh Society, with the hope of being enabled with greater usefulness to prosecute the work for which she left her native land.

(7) Miss Nancy Henderson.

Miss Henderson was born in Virginia, in the forks of the Cheat River, in 1795. In 1832–33 she was engaged in conducting a school on the Lancasterian system, in the city of Pittsburgh. It was located on Liberty, below Ferry Street. She relinquished it to go out as a missionary to the Western Indians. She left Pittsburgh, November 6, 1833, with Messrs. Kerr and Bushnell and their wives, and after laboring for over three years, she returned to Pennsylvania. The immediate occasion of her return was the extreme illness of her mother, who afterward died. In 1839 she was joined in marriage

with Mr. Richard Forrest, and resided in Allegheny. She died in Council Bluffs, Iowa, while making a visit to her daughter, on the 1st day of April, 1871, in the 76th year of her age. Her mortal remains were brought to Pittsburgh, and interred in the Allegheny Cemetery. At the time of her death she was in communion with the Central Presbyterian Church of Allegheny. She was tall and slender, gentle in manner, and subdued in her tones. She was a woman of deep religious experience, and ready for every good work.

(8) Rev. Samuel M. Irwin.

Mr. Irwin was born in Mercer county (now Lawrence), near New Castle, in 1812, and was sent out by the Society in the capacity of a teacher to the Indians. He left Pittsburgh on the 14th of March, 1837, and it took six weeks of travel by water and land to reach his destination. He was then one hundred miles beyond the line of civilization. The Iowas, Sacs, and Foxes of Missouri, were the tribes among which he labored. He continued among them for about twenty-six years, when the Indians were removed and the country occupied by the whites. Since then his time has been given to Highland University, which institution is an outgrowth of the missionary work. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Lafayette, Synod of Missouri, on the 5th day of April, 1845, and was ordained soon after by the same body. He is on the same ground to which he was sent more than thirty-five years ago.

The Iowa Indians, to whom his labors were chiefly directed, are greatly reduced in numbers, but the condition of those that remain is greatly improved. At first they followed the chase and were often engaged in war; now they are quite well civilized, and many are Christians. The missionary work has been of unspeakable advantage to them.

(9) Rev. Jesse M. Jamieson, D.D.

Mr. Jamieson was born on the 27th day of June, 1809, near Newville, in Cumberland county, Pa. His parents were members of the Associate Reformed Church, and his paternal grandfather was, for some time, pastor of the Big Spring Church. His mother died when he was four years old. His grandfather had previously moved to Indiana county, Pa., and his father afterwards followed him to

the same place. There Mr. Jamieson spent his boyhood. He entered Jefferson College in 1830, and graduated in 1834. He united with the Presbyterian Church in 1832, under the ministry of Rev. Matthew Brown, D.D. He then taught an academy in Maryland, and studied theology there with the Principal, Dr. Alexander Campbell. In the autumn of 1835, at the request of Rev. Dr. Brown and the secretary of the Pittsburgh Society, he went to India to take charge of the High School at Lodiana. On the 21st December, 1836, the Presbytery of Lodiana was organized, at which time Mr. Jamieson, with Messrs. W. S. Rogers and Joseph Porter, were taken under its care, as candidates for the ministry. Mr. Jamieson was ordained by the same Presbytery in October, 1837. He spent twenty-two years in India, and was stationed at Saharunpur, Sabathu, and Ambala, successively. He gave a good deal of time to the study of the Sanscrit, Persian, and Thibetan languages, besides the spoken dialects. He returned to America in the summer of 1857, having left two wives and three children in India graves. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Jefferson College, Pa., in 1858. For two years after his return, he was engaged in teaching the languages and mathematics in the Marengo Collegiate Institute, Illinois, and in Carroll College, Wisconsin. Since then he has supplied weak churches in the neighborhood of Monmouth, Illinois, where he has resided for thirteen years.

(10) Mrs. Rebecca Jamieson.

Mrs. Jamieson, the first wife of Rev. Jesse M. Jamieson, was born at Middleford, Delaware, on the 26th of January, 1818. She was the daughter of Captain Thomas Townsend. She was admitted to full communion in the church when fourteen years of age. The band with which she was associated embarked for India on the 16th of November, 1835. She died of cholera on the 4th day of September, 1845.

Mrs. Jamieson acquired an extensive knowledge of the Hindi, and could both speak and write it with great readiness. This prepared her for enlarged usefulness through the press. One of her little works was widely circulated. Her death was very peaceful, and full of consolation to her friends.

(11) Rev. Joseph Kerr.

Mr. Kerr was born at Johnsonsburg, Sussex county, New Jersey, on the 4th day of February, 1805. His father, Aaron Kerr, removed to Washington county, Pa., when he was four years old. He graduated at Jefferson College in the autumn of 1830, and at once entered the Allegheny Theological Seminary, and continued there till the summer of 1833. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Ohio, on the 26th day of June, 1833; married to Miss Mary Ann Caldwell, and ordained *sine titulo* by the Presbytery of Ohio (now Pittsburgh), during the sessions of the Synod of Pittsburgh, in October of the same year. On the 6th day of November, 1833, he left Pittsburgh in company with Rev. Wells Bushnell and wife, on the mission to which they had been appointed. Their field of labor was in what is now the State of Kansas, and among a segment of the Miami tribe. There were four little bands, the Weas, Peorias, Keankershaws, and Kaskaskias. These names were given in view of the proximity of their former settlements to some stream or town. The station was selected by Rev. Wm. D. Smith, and called the Wea Mission. They entered the house there when it had no door nor window, no floor nor chimney, but were thankful and happy in their work. They put up a unhewed log meeting-house, and in it witnessed some of the wildest and most disolderly assemblies, and afterwards meetings of the deepest solemnity. The Indians would engage in every imaginable employment during service, swapping knives and blankets; but in this same house, and with these same Indians, they afterwards saw the most fixed and solemn attention to the interests of the soul.

Mr. Kerr continued at the Wea Mission for three years and a half, sustaining a general connection with the early missionary work among the Iowa Indians. During these years he had associated with him Mr. Henry Bradley, a farmer, Mr. Francis Lindsay, and Mr. E. Shepherd, as teachers, all of whom rendered valuable aid.

After having been three years in the service, Mrs. Kerr lost her health, and was apparently brought very near to the grave. After some months of prostration, she returned to her friends in Pittsburgh, Mr. Kerr remaining on the field six months longer. He left the mission in the spring of 1837, and in the autumn of the same year he accepted a call from the Church of Two Ridges, in the

Presbytery of Steubenville, and continued there for six years. In 1843 he became pastor of the Church of Poland, Ohio, in the Presbytery of New Lisbon, and remained for eleven years. His health being shattered, and being subject to a paralytic affection of the vocal organs, he was compelled to resign his charge and leave a much loved people, with whom he had seen many happy days.

In the spring of 1854 he removed to Iowa, where he has been employed for several years in the diffusion of religious literature under the Presbyterian Board of Publication. He also preaches in vacant churches and frontier neighborhoods as opportunity offers. He is a member of the Presbytery of Iowa, and resides at Fairfield, Jefferson county, Iowa.

(12) Rev. Matthew Laird.

Mr. Laird was born in Union county, Pa., about the year 1805. He was educated at the celebrated Milton Academy, under Dr. Kirkpatrick, completing his classical studies at Jefferson College in 1830. After a short season spent in teaching he repaired to Princeton Seminary, where he finished his theological course in 1833. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Northumberland, in October of the same year. He was married, and sailed from Norfolk, Va., for the western coast of Africa, in company with Rev. John Cloud, November 6th, 1833. Soon after reaching Monrovia, the three were prostrated by malignant dysentery. John Cloud was first taken. Mrs. Laird died on May 3d, 1834, and her husband on the following day.

Rev. David X. Junkin, D.D.; has supplied the following interesting statement as to the manner in which Mr. Laird was introduced to the ministry. "He was apprenticed to a pious Baptist named William Thomas, to learn the business of a carpenter. Mr. Thomas was employed in 1826–27 in building a barn for the late Dr. George Junkin, who then resided near Milton Pa., and was pastor of a church in that place. Mr. Junkin was laid low by a typhus fever, and during his illness, Mrs. Junkin sometimes asked Mr. Thomas to conduct family worship. On one occasion Mr. Thomas called upon his apprentice, Laird, to lead in prayer. This he did with such fervor and earnestness as to attract the notice of the sick pastor, and when the family devotions were concluded, Mr. Junkin said to

his wife, 'If the Lord spare me to recover, that young man shall enter the ministry, God willing.' Mr. Thomas generously relinquished to the pious apprentice the balance of his term of service. Mr. Junkin received young Laird into his family, and sent him in due time to the Academy and College.

"Mr. Laird was a man of medium height, erect, with rather broad face and full round features, fair complexion, light hair, solemn manner, devout piety, somewhat slow in his mental operations, but solid and careful in his attainments and opinions, and an indefatigable Christian worker. I have often seen Barr and him at the carpenter's work-bench at Princeton, by which they both kept up health by wholesome exercise, and helped to bear their Seminary expenses."

(13) Rev. John C. Lowrie, D.D.

Dr. Lowrie was born in Butler, Pennsylvania, on the 16th day of December, 1808. His father was Hon. Walter Lowrie, for thirty-two years the Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions. He graduated at Jefferson College in 1829, after which he spent three years in the Allegheny Theological Seminary, and a part of 1832–33 at the Princeton Seminary. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Ohio, in the First Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh, on the 21st of June, 1832, and ordained by the Presbytery of New Castle, in the First Church of Philadelphia, on the 23d of May, 1833.

He was appointed as a missionary to India, June, 1832, and from that time until October he was engaged in visiting churches, and presenting the cause of missions. He sailed for India on the 30th of May, 1833, and reached Lodiana in November, 1834. In December, 1836, he returned home, with the hope of regaining his health. His labors, for two years, consisted in endeavoring to awaken a deeper interest in the perishing multitudes of India. Until the latter part of 1838 he expected to return to his distant field, but the Executive Committee, having taken medical advice, refused their sanction. From 1838 till 1850 he served the cause as Assistant Corresponding Secretary of the Foreign Board, also ministering statedly to a church in New York city, from 1845 till 1850. In 1850 he was appointed Corresponding Secretary of the Board, and in this service he is now engaged. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon

him by Miami University, Ohio, in 1852. He was the Moderator of the General Assembly in Pittsburgh, in 1865. He is the author of "A Manual of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America"—a volume of great accuracy and convenience, which has already passed through several editions. We hope that the time is far distant, when any will be called to tell, as we may not now, of the lovely character and valued services of Dr. John C. Lowrie.

(14) Mrs. Louisa A. Lowrie.

Louisa A. Lowrie, wife of the Rev. John C. Lowrie, D.D., was a daughter of Thomas and Mary Wilson, of Morgantown, Virginia, and sister of the late Hon. Edgar C. Wilson, of the same place. She belonged to the first band of missionaries sent by the Pittsburgh Society to India, and sailed from Philadelphia May 30, 1833. She died in Calcutta, November 21, of the same year, in the twenty-fourth year of her age. The annual report of 1834 says of her: "Her desires to devote herself to the spiritual good of the heathen were fervent, and her qualifications for the work were, to human view, uncommon; but He for whose glory she left her native land and bore her feeble exhausted frame half round the globe, was pleased, doubtless for wise reasons, to disappoint her earthly hopes, and require her associates, a few short weeks after their arrival, to consign her to the dust, there to proclaim, as she sleeps in Jesus on India's distant shores, the compassion of American christians for its millions of degraded idolators, and to invite others from her native land to come and prosecute the noble undertaking in which she fell." Her pastor at Morgantown, Rev. Ashbel G. Fairchild, D.D., prepared a memoir, soon after her death; and few who have seen in it the excellent likeness of that lovely face will ever forget it. Her memory is still affectionately cherished in Western Pennsylvania. A few years ago the Women's Missionary Societies within the Presbyteries of Pittsburgh and Allegheny named the house they were building at Mynpurie, India, "The Louisa Lowrie Home." It is intended as a dwelling for the unmarried women laboring as missionaries at that station. It was completed in 1872, and is alike honoring to the woman whose name it bears, and creditable to the missionary zeal of those by whom it has been completed.

(15) Rev. James McEwen.

Mr. McEwen was born in Crieff, Perthshire, Scotland, in the year 1801. He received his academical education in Philadelphia. While pursuing these studies, at the suggestion of his teacher he wrote brief statements of his views of the doctrines of the Gospel. They appeared in successive numbers in the *Presbyterian*, under the title of "Plain Divinity." They were much admired, and attributed very generally to a more experienced pen. He studied theology at Princeton Theological Seminary, and was ordained as an evangelist by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, on the 24th of April, 1834. He embarked on the 16th of November, of the same year, for India, and on reaching his field, was led by providential events to locate at Allahabad. His labors were blessed, and a church of thirteen persons was organized in January, 1837. His health failing, his physician advised his return to America, to which he came in 1838. In 1839 he paid a visit to his native country, and while his health was improving, his soul was refreshed by witnessing the glorious work of God in Kilsyth. After his return from Scotland he became pastor of the Church in Delhi, New York. Here he continued to labor till within a few weeks of his death, which occurred on the 11th of March, 1845, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

During the seven weeks of his last illness, he commenced a most serious course of self-examination. This resulted in a calm confidence that his hopes were founded on the Rock of Ages. His peace and joy were, as he expressed it, as great as he desired. He was a sound divine, a faithful preacher, and a diligent student.

(16) Rev. John A. Mitchell.

Rev. John A. Mitchell, who sailed for China with Rev. R. W. Orr and wife, was a native of Tennessee. He was threatened with pulmonary disease before he left this country, and died in Singapore on the 2d day of October, 1838, in the thirty-third year of his age. He had at times, during his last illness, most joyful anticipations of the heavenly rest, and ardent longings "to depart and be with Christ." He was well qualified for the missionary work, and had a strong desire to preach the Gospel among the heathen.

(17) Rev. John Newton, D.D.

Mr. Newton was born in the State of New Jersey, about the year

1809. Soon after his birth, his parents, who were most excellent people, removed to Bucks county Pa., and settled near Doylestown. His father was a ruling elder in the church of that place. Mr. Newton was made the subject of divine grace in the summer of 1822, during a revival of religion which occurred under the preaching of Rev. Charles C. Beatty, D.D., then a student in the Seminary. Mr. Newton's father dying not long after, and leaving a large family in straitened circumstances, he was taken, in 1826, into the family of Dr. Beatty, in Steubenville, which was his home until he left for India. He was prepared for college in Steubenville, was graduated at Canonsburg, after which he taught for a year or two in the academy at the former place. He received his theological education in the Allegheny Seminary, which he entered in 1831. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Steubenville, which also desired to ordain him for his work; but at the urgent solicitation of the First Presbyterian Church of New York, which had undertaken his support in India, he was transferred to the Presbytery of New York, and by it ordained in the First Presbyterian Church, on the 22d day of October, 1834. He and his wife, with Mr. James Wilson and wife, sailed from Boston, for India, on the 4th day of November, 1834. During his forty years of service in India his labors have chiefly been in two fields, Lodiana and Lahore. The latter is his station at present.

He has visited America on two occasions. One was in 1853–54, when he was accompanied by all of his family. He was a member of the General Assembly in 1853, representing in it the Presbytery of Lodiana. During his stay he resided in Steubenville. The other visit was in 1870, when he came alone, and was again a member of the General Assembly meeting that year in Philadelphia.

The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him about 1855.

Dr. Newton was first married to Miss Elizabeth P. Janvier, a former teacher in the Steubenville Seminary, where she had embraced religion.

They had four sons, all of whom are missionaries in India—Rev. Charles Beatty Newton, and Rev. Francis John Newton of Lahore, Rev. Edward Payson Newton of Lodiana, and Rev. John Newton, Jr., M.D., of Sabathu.

They also had two daughters, both of whom were married to missionaries. The elder is Mrs. Margaret Forman of India. The younger is deceased.

The Presbyterian Church may well regard with pride the missionary record of John Newton. The name of this family will occupy a conspicuous and honored place in the ecclesiastical history of India in future centuries.

(18) Rev. Robert Wilberforce Orr.

Mr. Orr was born near Clarion, Clarion county, Pa., on the 18th day of January, 1808. His training was that of the strict Scotch-Irish Presbyterian stamp. He entered Jefferson College at the age of twenty-one, with the intention of preparing for the practice of law. But while there, becoming a subject of divine grace, he resolved to seek the ministry. He was graduated at Jefferson College in 1833, with distinguished honor. He pursued the full course in the Western Theological Seminary, and afterwards spent one session at Princeton as a resident graduate. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Allegheny (now Butler), then embracing Clarion county, and ordained in 1837 as a missionary to China by the Presbytery of Bedford, N. Y. He was united in marriage with Miss Eliza Ann Carter, on the 12th day of September, 1837. He sailed for Singapore, on the 11th of December, in the same year. Here he labored efficiently, visiting Malacca, Siam, and the neighboring islands, with the view of locating the mission in the most desirable place, as China was not yet open to foreigners. His health, which had been impaired even before he left the Seminary, began to fail during his second year of service. With the hope of regaining it, he spent a part of his third year on the Nilgherry Hills, in the South of India. He returned to Singapore after seven months, not much benefited, and in 1841, after an absence of four years, he returned to his native land.

His health being somewhat recruited, he taught in the Academy of Clarion for two years, supplying, a part of his time, the churches of Bethel and Greenwood.

In the autumn of 1844, he was elected a Professor in Jefferson College, and continued in this position for seven years, preaching during this period to the Church of Centre.

Severe hemorrhage from the lungs, in the autumn of 1851, compelled him to resign his professorship, after which he spent some time in the interest of the endowment of the College.

In the spring of 1854 he returned to Clarion county, and was elected County Superintendent of Common Schools, in which office he remained until his death, supplying, for six months of this time, the churches of Mill Creek and Mount Tabor. He died near Clarion, on the 30th day of March, 1857.

Mr. Orr was a ripe scholar, an able theologian, a judicious counsellor, and an earnest minister of the New Testament. His end was calm and peaceful. He often repeated, "Jesus, lover of my soul." His dying prayer was, "Come quickly, Lord Jesus!"

His surviving companion, Mrs. Eliza Ann Orr, resides in Pittsburgh, where also one of his sons is living. The other son resides in Chicago. Rev. Franklin Orr, of the Presbytery of Kittanning, is his brother.

(19) Rev. John B. Pinney, LL.D.

Mr. Pinney was born in Baltimore, on the 25th day of December, 1806. He graduated at the University of Georgia, at Athens, in 1828. He was admitted to practice at the bar of the Supreme Court of Georgia the same year, Hon. Wm. H. Crawford presiding. He taught a private school at Walterborough, South Carolina, for one year, after which, in 1829, he entered the Theological Seminary at Princeton, and continued there for three years.

He was ordained as a foreign missionary, with Rev. Joseph Barr, by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, in October, 1832. He embarked for Africa in 1832, and returned in the summer of 1833. In the autumn of the same year he again sailed for Liberia, and in 1835 he returned a second time. In 1839 he went out with Messrs. Canfield and Alward, and returned in 1840. In February, 1847, he was installed pastor of the Church of Washington, Pa. In April, 1848, he resigned this charge, and accepted the position of Corresponding Secretary of the New York State Colonization Society, in which service he continued until 1872. In March, 1875, he entered upon the work of securing funds for educational purposes in Lincoln University, Oxford, Pa. With this design, in the summer of the same year he visited England and Scotland.

For twelve years Dr. Pinney was the editor of the *New York Colonization Journal.*

The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., in 1860.

The dauntless christian courage with which Mr. Pinney sailed alone for the insalubrious coast of Africa, after Mr. Barr had been smitten down at his side, won the admiration of the Church. Constrained to abandon his chosen field, he has ever since discovered a deep interest in the colored race.

(20) Rev. Joseph Porter.

Mr. Porter was born in Derby Plains, Ohio, on the 5th day of January, 1808. At the age of nineteen he made a public profession of his faith, and soon entered upon his studies for the ministry. He graduated at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, but did not complete his theological course in this country. He sailed for India on the 16th of November, 1835. He reached Lodiana in December, 1836, and was ordained to the gospel ministry by the Presbytery of Lodiana, in October, 1837. In 1842 his wife was removed from the toils and trials of earth. In 1848 and 1849 Mr. Porter visited the United States to make arrangements for the education of his children. He remained for two years, presenting the cause of missions to the churches. In a visit to Western Ohio he became acquainted with Miss Mary Parvin, daughter of the late Rev. Theophilus Parvin, missionary to South America. With her he was afterward joined in marriage. They sailed for India on the 8th of August, 1849, and after four additional years of toil, he was taken to his rest. He died in Lodiana, on the 21st of November, 1853, in the forty-sixth year of his age. This sad event occurred at the time of the annual meeting of the mission, and when eight of his fellow-laborers were present.

The following statement from the Rev. Jesse M. Jamieson, D.D., is given in Dr. Lowrie's "Manual of Missions": "For several years before his death Mr. Porter had charge of the Lodiana mission press, and was indefatigable in his labors to make it efficient. He also had charge of all the mission buildings, and seemed to take pleasure in relieving his brethren of the secular affairs of the station. This he did the more cheerfully, as for several years an affection of

the throat, which finally undermined his constitution, prevented him from doing much in the way of direct preaching. He was well acquainted with the Hindustani and Punjábi languages, and when his health permitted, was an acceptal le and affectionate preacher in these dialects. His last work on earth was correcting the final proof sheets of a Punjaubi dictionary on which he and two of his brethren had long labored. This labor he continued until the day before his death, or until his hands refused to perform what his heart desired."

(21) Mrs. Harriet J. Porter.

Mrs. Porter, the first wife of Rev. Joseph Porter, was a native of the State of Indiana. She sailed for India on the 16th of November, 1835, and died at Lodiana, on March 10th, 1842. She was highly esteemed by all the missionary laborers associated with her.

(22) Rev. William Reed.

Mr. Reed was born in 1802, in Mifflin county, Pa., within the bounds of the East Kishacoquillas Church. In this church he was baptized, and in after years admitted to full communion. He graduated at Jefferson College, and entered the Allegheny Theological Seminary in 1829, where he continued three years. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Huntingdon on the first day of May, 1833, at an interesting meeting held in the Church of East Kishacoquillas. He embarked with Rev. John C. Lowrie, for India, on the 30th day of May, 1833, and arrived in Calcutta in the month of October of the same year. While engaged in acquiring the language, pulmonary disease gradually developed itself. His medical attendants advised his return to his native land, and he sailed for Philadelphia in July. He declined rapidly during the voyage, and died on the 12th of August, 1835, in the thirty-second year of his age. He was buried in the waters of the Bay of Bengal.

Rev. John C. Lowrie, D.D., his colleague, has made this record of him in his "Manual of Missions:" "Mr. Reed was a man of excellent mind, respectable scholarship, blameless character, and sincere piety. These gifts and graces, united to the best habits of industry and much energy, led the Church to form the hope of his being very useful in the service of Christ among the heathen. It was not unreasonable to expect that in a long life such a man

would do great good. Nor can it be questioned that even the short course allotted to him was spent in the best way. His life and his example were known to a large number of Christian friends. His being one of the first missionaries of a new and distinctively ecclesiastical organization, was itself a fact of much moment at the time, and worthy of remembrance. But in reference to him, as also to many others, the Church must recognize the will of the Lord as the highest reason for all the mysteries of Providence. 'As for God, his way is perfect.' "

(23) Rev. William S. Rogers.

Mr. Rogers was born at Greenfield, Highland county, Ohio, on the 14th day of January, 1809. He received his literary education at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, and graduated in August, 1835, but did not take a full theological course in this country. He left for India, in November, 1835, and was ordained to the ministry by the Presbytery of Lodiana, in October, 1837. He returned to the United States in the autumn of 1843, and for one year served the First Presbyterian Church of Oxford, Ohio, as stated supply. From 1844, for about ten years, he served as an agent of the Board of Foreign Missions. After laboring in an agency for the building of the Oxford Female Seminary, he again ministered as stated supply to the church of that place. He also served successively the churches of Camden, Harmony, College Corners, and Shelby, the first three being in the vicinity of Oxford. Meanwhile he held a ready pen, and wrote frequently for the press, both secular and religious, always in the interest of humanity and the kingdom of Christ. He died in Oxford, on the 20th day of August, 1873, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

Rev. J. M. Wampler says of Mr. Rogers:

"Personally, Bro. Rogers was a man of tall, spare, and rather delicate frame, with a fair complexion; and, during his latter years, his locks were almost white, which, with his full-flowing snow-white beard, gave him quite a venerable and patriarchal appearance, and from every lineament of his countenance beamed goodness and kindness—a true index of the inner-man. Socially he was affable, courteous, a Christian gentleman, at home in every circle. But the most noted feature was his *religious* character. In this

respect he was eminently a light to all around him. He filled my idea of 'that disciple whom Jesus loved' about as nearly as any man I ever knew." After his decease a friend remarked to me: "His daily walk was a living exemplification of the gospel." Another said: "He was as good a man, if not the best, that ever walked the streets of Oxford." Even ungodly men were constrained to recognize him as one of the excellent of the earth. As a preacher he was clear, earnest, spiritual, practical—his matter fitted rather to feed the piety and quicken the graces of God's children, than to awaken the impenitent. The one great subject which lay nearest his heart, and occupied his thoughts, was that of foreign missions. His heart yearned for the salvation of a lost world, and the glory of Christ.

During his last illness he was characteristically patient and resigned, having "no solicitude," as he expressed himself to me, as to the result of his sickness. Often, during the paroxysms of extreme pain, he would seek to comfort his friends by saying, "but for a moment." When near his end, he committed his family to their covenant-keeping God by the simple monosyllable "*trust.*"

(24) Rev. James Wilson.

Mr. Wilson was born in Ligonier Valley, Pennsylvania, on the 24th of November, 1802; was graduated at Jefferson College in 1830; completed the course of three years' study in the Allegheny Theological Seminary, and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Redstone in April, 1833. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Hudson, Goshen, N. Y., as their missionary to India, on the 20th of October, 1834, and sailed from Boston, with Rev. John Newton, on the 5th of November of the same year. He arrived in Calcutta early in February of 1835, and reached Lodiana in December of that year. This was the first mission station of the Western Foreign Missionary Society. He was transferred to Sabathu, in the Himalaya mountains, in October, 1836, and to Allahabad in the autumn of 1837. After seven years of labor there, he accepted an invitation from Lieut.-Governor Thomason to remove to Agra, and take the Secretaryship and Treasuryship of the N. India Bible Society at its organization in that place. By advice of the mission, he returned to America, in August, 1852, and since then he has been supplying va-

rious congregations in Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia. He has two sons in the ministry—Rev. Luther Halsey Wilson, and Rev. John Lowrie Wilson, both of whom are settled in South Carolina. He also has two sons in the eldership—the one residing in Nashville, Tennessee, and the other in the State of Kentucky.

The present address of Rev. James Wilson is Nashville, Tennessee. Though laboring for twenty years past, in parts remote from the scenes of his youth, his associates in the Seminary, and in his subsequent missionary toils, remember him with great affection.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

BY

REV. S. J. M. EATON, D.D.,

Franklin, Pa.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

IT was a grand country upon which the fathers entered an hundred years ago. It was the far West then, embracing Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio. The French had claimed it; the red men of the forest contended earnestly for its possession; the Jesuits had been in the advance in exploring its resources. Yet the hand of Providence seemed to have preserved it for the special occupation of that grand people we call Scotch-Irish.

The Ohio Company, formed about the middle of the last century for its settlement, could not induce German immigrants to enter because of the support required for the Church of England. And so the land was held in abeyance until the strong, rugged Presbyterians, whose ancestors had worn blue bonnets and explored peat bogs, who feared neither French nor Indians nor the mighty forest, were prepared to enter in and take possession.

Other influences assisted. The French were conquered on the "Plains of Abraham," in 1759; Pontiac, that grandest of all Indian Sagamores, and whose conspiracy, mightier than that of Catiline at Rome, had been suppressed, made peace in 1763; finally the treaty of Anthony Wayne, concluded in August, 1794, opened the way for conquest on more peaceful fields.

The Presbyterian Church was planted, first in what are now Washington, Fayette, Westmoreland, and Allegheny counties, in Pennsylvania, along the Monongahela and Ohio rivers and their branches; thence up the Allegheny to the shores of Lake Erie, thence to the Muskingum, the Scioto, and the Cuyahoga rivers, making this dense wilderness glad, and opening the way for the

spread of civilization and religion to the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean.

Eastern Pennsylvania and Virginia had been settled largely by immigrants from Ireland and Scotland. In the year 1729, there arrived in Pennsylvania from Europe six thousand two hundred and eight persons, for the purpose of settling in that colony, of whom more than five thousand were from Ireland.* Before the middle of the century, twelve thousand arrived annually for several years. †

In 1736, one thousand families sailed from Belfast alone for this country.

The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were grand material for the erection of new states and churches in the wilderness. Their ancestors have a grand record that reaches back to the possession of Western Europe by the Romans. Tertullian says that many Christians, to escape the persecution of the Roman power, fled to regions inaccessible to the Romans. They found a refuge and a home amid the bleak mountains of Scotland and the Northern coast of Ireland. "The Scotch Church was planted by Christian refugees, at a period unknown to history." ‡

The settlers of this region of Western Pennsylvania were nearly all the descendants of these immigrants from Ireland and Scotland. They had the same blood in their veins that had flowed at Londonderry and the Boyne Water. It was the blood of the Covenanters, martyrs, and witnesses of Jesus in the old historic days. They were God's chosen people, sent here to conquer this rugged land for God, and their influence is felt here to this day.

How soon the influences of Presbyterianism were felt here we cannot tell. The mosses have gathered upon the records. The footprints have become dim as the years have passed beyond the century. But we know those old Scotch-Irish Presbyterians well enough to be very sure that like Abraham of old they would build their altar wherever they pitched their tent.

There was a population here very early in the last century. In 1738, "John Caldwell, in behalf of himself and many families of our persuasion who are about to settle in the back parts of Virginia," induced the Synod of Philadelphia to appeal to Gov. Gooch, of Virginia, "for countenance and protection" in their proposed settle-

* Foote's Notes. † Proud's Hist. of Penn. ‡ Dr. Speer.

ment. The countenance and protection was granted, and they went to "settle on the western side of our great mountains."

In 1760, the year when Fort Pitt was completed, there is evidence that a large population was planted in this region. Smollet, in his History of England, tells us that the completion of this fort established the perfect security of about four thousand settlers, who now returned to the quiet possession of their lands.

The first Protestant sermon preached west of the Allegheny mountains was by Rev. Charles Beatty. He came to Fort du Quesne November 24, 1758, with the army that took possession of the fort, evacuated that day by the French, and, by order of the commander, Gen. Forbes, the next day, or the following, preached a Thanksgiving sermon before the army.*

In 1760, Rev. Messrs. Alexander and Hector Allison were directed by the Synod of Philadelphia to go with the Pennsylvania forces. In 1766, Rev. Messrs. Charles Beatty and George Duffield were sent by the Synod to explore the frontier settlements and ascertain the condition of the Indians. They arrived at Pittsburgh on the 5th of September, finding Chaplain McLagan in spiritual charge of the fort. On the following Sabbath Mr. Beatty preached in the fort, and both the missionaries preached to the people who lived outside the fort. Thence they proceeded as far west as the Muskingum, when they returned to Pittsburgh, and then to their homes in the East.

Mr. Beatty died at Bridgeton, N. J., August 13, 1792. He was the father of Erkuries Beatty, who was the father of Rev. Charles C. Beatty, D.D., who is with us at this day, and has been a most efficient laborer in the region whose territory and history we are considering.

Soon after Mr. Beatty's visit Mr. Anderson was appointed to visit this region, with the promise of twenty shillings for every Sabbath he should preach "on the other side of the Kittatinning mountains."

In 1769, the Synod ordered the Presbytery of Donegal to supply the Western frontier with ten Sabbaths of ministerial labor. So we see that for nearly twenty years before the settlement of a minister in this region, the Synod used its utmost efforts to supply it with the means of grace.

* Letter of John Haslett to Rev. Dr. Allison, November 24, 1758.

JAMES FINLEY

was the first of the pioneer ministers who visited this region. This was in 1771. He came on horseback, with a single companion, to explore the country, and prepare the way for a permanent settlement. He was at this time in the prime of life, about forty years of age; born in the province of Ulster, Ireland; educated at the Faggs Manor School. He was ordained by the Presbytery of New Castle in 1752.

In person he was a fat, nervous, florid little man, able to endure hardships, and prepared, as soon as circumstances would admit, to cast in his lot with the new settlements. He moved thither with his family in 1783, and about two years afterwards became pastor of the Churches of Rehoboth and Round Hill, first called "Upper and Lower Meeting Houses." Of these churches he continued pastor until his death, that occurred January 6, 1795.

JAMES POWER, D.D.,

first visited the new settlements in 1774. He was born in Chester county, Pa., in 1746; graduated at Princeton in 1766; licensed by the Presbytery of New Castle, June 24, 1772. In 1776 he was ordained by the same Presbytery *sine titulo*, the reason being assigned that "he was about to remove to the Western parts of this province."

Mr. Power moved across the mountains with all his family and household effects packed on horseback. The minister carried the eldest daughter on a pillion behind him, and the youngest in his arms. The two other daughters were seated in baskets hung on either side of another horse, the mother on a third, and the household effects on other horses.

After performing missionary work for some five years, he became pastor of the Churches of Sewickley and Mount Pleasant. In 1787 he was released from the charge of the Sewickley Church, but continued with Mount Pleasant until 1817. He died August 5, 1830, aged eighty-five years.

Mr. Power was of medium height, erect, slender, graceful in manners, and extremely neat in his dress. As a preacher he was clear, methodical, and evangelical.

JOHN MCMILLAN, D.D.,

was the next man on the ground; of Irish descent; born at Faggs Manor in 1752; graduated at Princeton; licensed in 1774. He

first visited the West in 1775. He returned the next year, but owing to Indian difficulties did not remove his family to Washington county until 1778, when he took charge of the congregations of Chartiers and Pigeon Creek. From the latter he was dismissed about the year 1800; of the former he continued pastor until 1830. He died at Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, November 16, 1833, in the eighty-first year of his age.

Dr. McMillan was not attractive in personal appearance. He was six feet in height, rough-hewn in features, brusque in manners, and with a voice that was like the rumbling of thunder.

Thaddeus Dodd

was born in New Jersey, March 7th, 1740. His parents were from Connecticut. He graduated at Princeton, in 1773; licensed in 1775; he came to the West in 1777. He became pastor of the churches of "Upper and Lower Ten Mile," in Washington county. His death took place May 20th, 1793, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

Mr. Dodd was a man of sallow complexion, erect, slender, with dark hair, and eyes that were keen and lively. He was a fine scholar, particularly in the department of mathematics. He was supposed to have been in his day the only man in the West who thoroughly understood the mysteries of Gunter's scale. He was known as a son of consolation. His life was gentle, his preaching earnest, persuasive, and particularly attractive to the young.

Joseph Smith

was a Marylander, born at Nottingham, in 1736; graduated at Princeton in 1764; licensed, August 5, 1767; he came to the West in 1779. In the fall of that year, calls were presented him from Buffalo and Cross Creek congregations. In the following spring he moved out and commenced the work. This was his life work. He preached here until his death, April, 1792, at the age of fifty-six.

Mr. Smith was tall and slender, fair in complexion, fine countenance, and eyes that were fairly brilliant. He was a son of thunder; dealt largely in the terrors of the law, so much so as to be called "Hellfire Smith" by those who were lacking in reverence. Rev. Samuel Porter, one of his contemporaries, says of him: "I never heard a man who could so completely as Mr. Smith unbar the gates

of hell, and make me look far down into the abyss; or who could so throw open the gates of heaven, and let me glance at the insufferable brightness of the great white throne." He was a very devotional man. He kept a cloak near his bed in winter to wrap himself in, when he would arise in the night hours for prayer. With these four ministers, McMillan, Power, Dodd, and Smith, the Western Church crystalizes into the form of the

Presbytery of Redstone.

This Presbytery was erected by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, on the 16th of May, 1781. It was directed to meet at Laurel Hill, in what is now Fayette county, on the third Monday of September following, at 11 o'clock A.M. The time approached, but the incursions of Indians in the neighborhood of some of the members of the Presbytery, rendered the meeting at Laurel Hill impracticable. The meeting was held in Pigeon Creek, Washington county. The record runs thus: "*Ubi post preces sederunt*, the Rev. Messrs. John McMillan, James Power, and Thaddeus Dodd; Elders, John Neil, Demas Lindley, and Patrick Scott; absent, Rev Joseph Smith."

This was the first meeting of Presbytery west of the Allegheny Mountains. The second meeting was a failure, no quorum appeared. The third meeting was also a failure, "owing to the incursions of the savages." At the next meeting, Rev. James Dunlap was received from the Presbytery of New Castle. He had received calls from the churches of Laurel Hill and Dunlap's Creek. Mr.—afterwards Dr.—Dunlap was born in Chester county, in 1744; graduated at Princeton in 1773; ordained by the Presbytery of New Castle in 1781. In the year 1802, he was elected President of Jefferson College; resigned 1811; died near Philadelphia, November 22, 1818.

At this meeting of Presbytery James Edgar was present. He was a prominent elder, and a man of great influence in the Presbytery. Judge Brackenridge says of him: "He was an associate judge of the county of Washington, and a kind of Rabbi in the Presbyterian churches in the Western country. His head was prematurely hoary with prayers and fastings and religious exercises; his face thin and puritanical, like the figures of the old Republicans in the Long Parliament of England."

Judge Edgar's influence was great, not only amongst his neighbors but throughout the Presbytery. He was a wise counsellor, and an efficient laborer in the cause of Presbyterianism.

In 1781, John Clark, already an old man, came into the bounds, and became pastor of Lebanon and Bethel. He died in 1797. In 1785, Alexander Addison was received under the care of Presbytery as a licentiate from Scotland. He preached for a time at Washington, Pa. After a time he gave up preaching, and became distinguished in the legal profession.

Rev. Dr. Carnahan, of Princeton College, says of him: "Alexander Addison was president of the courts in the four counties, and I venture to say that a more intelligent, learned, upright, and fearless judge was not to be found in the State."

In the year 1785, Samuel Barr accepted calls from Pittsburgh and Pitt township. In 1788, four candidates were licensed to preach the gospel—Brice, Hughes, McGready, and Patterson. Mr. McGready became famous in the Kentucky revivals. Brice settled at Three Ridges and Forks of Wheeling, Hughes at Short Creek and Lower Buffalo, and Patterson at Raccoon.

James Hughes

was a native of York county, educated under direction of Rev. Joseph Smith and Thaddeus Dodd. He afterwards became a member of the Presbytery of Miami, and in 1818 was chosen Principal of what is now Miami University. He died May 22, 1821, at Oxford, Ohio, aged fifty-six years, leaving a beautiful record of zeal in the Lord's work.

Joseph Patterson

was a famous man in his day. He was born in Ireland, studied with Joseph Smith, and was somewhat advanced in years at the time of his licensure. He continued the pastor of Raccoon for some twenty-seven years. His last days were spent in Pittsburgh in works of great usefulness, seeking out the poor, and distributing Bibles to boatmen. He was a man of faith, earnest in prayer, and devoted to the Lord's work. He died February 4, 1832, in the eightieth year of his age.

During the few years succeeding, John McPherrin, Samuel Porter, Robert Marshall, George Hill, William Swan, and Thomas Mar-

quis were licensed. These men had all been educated at home, and became efficient laborers in the field. During the same period, Jacob Jennings was received from the "Low Dutch Church." Of these,

SAMUEL PORTER

was born in Ireland, in 1760. His studies were pursued under direction of Mr. Smith and Dr. McMillan, the latter making no charge for board or tuition, while a friend provided for his family in the meantime. He was licensed November 12, 1789. In the following year, he became pastor of the congregations of Poke Run and Congruity. Of the former he was pastor until 1798; of the latter, until his death, September 23, 1825, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

GEORGE HILL

was born in York county, March 13, 1764. He was licensed to preach, December 22, 1791. He was first settled in the congregations of Fairfield, Donegal, and Wheatfield, November 13, 1792. Six years afterwards, he resigned the charge of Wheatfield, and accepted a call from Ligonier. In these charges he labored until his death, June 9, 1822, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. He was a man of remarkable vigor of constitution, with a mind to work, and did good service for the Master. Rev. George Hill, D.D., of Blairsville, is his grandson.

JACOB JENNINGS

was born in New Jersey, in 1744. He was a descendant of the Plymouth Pilgrims, and a physician by profession, having practiced medicine for twenty years before his licensure. He was licensed by the Reformed Dutch Church, and received by the Presbytery of Redstone, April 17, 1792. He was settled as pastor of Dunlap's Creek, in Fayette county, where he continued until June, 1811, when, on account of infirmity, he was released from his charge. He died February 17, 1813, aged sixty-nine. He was the father of Rev. Obadiah Jennings, and grandfather of Rev. S. C. Jennings, D.D.

DAVID SMITH

was the son of Rev. Joseph Smith, one of the original members of the Presbytery of Redstone. He was born 1772; graduated at

Hampden-Sidney College; licensed by the Presbytery of Redstone, November 14, 1792; settled first at George's Creek and Tent, in Fayette county, afterwards at Rehoboth and Round Hill, until his death, August 24, 1803, in the thirty-second year of his age. He was the father of Rev. Joseph Smith, D.D., the historian of "Old Redstone."

The Presbytery of Redstone was composed of able, devoted, and self-denying men. They were the men for the times. Although commencing in the wilderness, they were not forgetful of the prospective wants of the country. They laid the foundations deep and broad. The influence they exerted in the planting of the church is felt at the present day, not only in the region where they labored, but in the regions beyond.

The Presbytery of Ohio.

was erected by the Synod of Virginia in 1793. The ministers composing it were John McMillan, Joseph Patterson, James Hughes, John Clark, and John Brice. The Monongahela River bounded its territory on the East and North, thence the line ran northward to Presque Isle or Erie. On the West it embraced the frontier settlements in Western Reserve in Ohio.

Other names were soon added to the roll, giving it strength and efficiency.

Thomas Marquis

was one of these. He was born near Winchester, Va., in 1753, of Irish parentage; emigrated to Washington county, 1775; studied with Joseph Smith, and at the Canonsburg Academy, also with Dr. McMillan; licensed by the Presbytery of Redstone, April 19, 1793; ordained by the Presbytery of Ohio, June 13, 1794; and installed as pastor of the congregations of Upper Buffalo and Cross Creek. Of the latter he continued the pastor until 1826. He died, September 29, 1827, aged seventy-four. He was below the middle stature, features small, finely formed, with the lines of thought deeply traced. He had a sweet musical voice, and was sometimes called "the silver-tongued Marquis." He was a grand and attractive preacher in his day.

Samuel Ralston

was an Irishman; born in 1756, and graduated at the University of Glasgow. He was licensed in Ireland; emigrated to this country

in 1794; ordained by the Presbytery of Ohio, November 30, 1796, and installed as pastor of Mingo Creek. This charge continued until his death, September 25, 1851. He also preached a portion of his time at Horseshoe Bottom and Williamsport. His entire charge was in Washington county. "Dr. Ralston was a man of war from his youth," an author of some prominence, and a successful pastor.

JOHN ANDERSON, D. D.,

was a North Carolinian; born April 10, 1767; studied with Rev. David Caldwell, D.D.; licensed by the Presbytery of Orange, 1793. In 1802 he became pastor of the congregation of Upper Buffalo. This relation continued until June 18, 1833. He died February, 8, 1835.

Rev. S. C. Jennings, D.D., says of him: "Dr. Anderson was tall, slender, with light hair, sunken cheeks, and eyes and teeth protruding. His appearance late in life was so cadaverous as to excite sympathy. He was very plain in his apparel, wearing usually home-made cloth, and not always black."

He was a very pungent preacher, and was called by his brethren "the screw auger." "He bored down into the very inmost souls of men, and drew up and presented to their astonished view depraved passions and appetites that they had never imagined to be there."

He was not without humor. At one time a member of Synod protested against being called Doctor of Divinity. "Oh!" said Dr. Anderson, "just treat it as a nickname. They formerly called me 'Bare Bones,' and I bore it without saying a word, and found it the easiest way."

MOSES ALLEN

was the son-in-law of Dr. McMillan. He was licensed to preach in 1802, and soon became the pastor of the congregations of New Providence and Jefferson. He was for a time pastor of Raccoon, and afterwards of Crab Apple, in Ohio.

GEORGE M. SCOTT

was a Princeton student. He became pastor of the congregation of Mill Creek, in Beaver county. His labors continued here from

1801 to 1826. He was of low stature, round face, and bland disposition.

In the meantime other laborers entered the field, of whom were William Woods, Joseph Anderson, John McClean, Andrew Gwinn, John Watson (the first President of Jefferson College), Thos. Moore, James Snodgrass, William Wylie, and others. Congregations had been multiplying; the country was filling up with settlers, and the settlements extending northward to Lake Erie, and westward toward the interior of Ohio. The territory was becoming too large for a single Presbytery, and petitions were presented to Synod for a new Presbytery, looking also toward the organization of a new Synod.

The Presbytery of Erie

was erected by the Synod of Virginia, at a meeting held at Winchester, Va., October 2, 1801. The following is the minute of Synod: "At the unanimous request of the members present from the Presbyteries of Redstone and Ohio, the Synod did and hereby do erect the Rev. Messrs. Thomas E. Hughes, William Wick, Samuel Tait, Joseph Stockton, and Robert Lee, together with all the congregations north and northwest of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers, unto the place where the Ohio river crosses the western boundary of Pennsylvania, into a separate Presbytery, to be called the Presbytery of Erie, and appointed their first meeting to be held at Mount Pleasant, on the second Tuesday of April next. William Wick was appointed to open the meeting with a sermon, and preside until a new Moderator be chosen."

At the appointed time the Presbytery met. In the meantime, two other brethren had come into the bounds: James Satterfield and William Wylie. All the ministers were present, with four elders: William Plumer, John Monteith, William Waddell, and Ithiel Dodd. "Supplications" for supplies came in from seventeen vacant churches or congregations.

These seven ministers were all settled at the organization of the Presbytery.

Thomas Edgar Hughes

was pastor of Mount Pleasant and Salem. He heads the long roll of the Presbytery of Erie. He was the first minister of the Gospel

who settled north of the Ohio river. He was of Welsh origin, and born in York county, Pa., April 7, 1769; graduated at Princeton probably in 1797; studied theology with Dr. McMillan; licensed to preach by the Ohio Presbytery, October 17, 1798; ordained by the same, August 28, 1799. He was pastor of New Salem until 1808, and Mount Pleasant until 1830. He died May 2, 1838, in the seventieth year of his age. Four of his sons, William, John D., Watson, and James R., became ministers of the Gospel.

William Wick

was a descendant of the Pilgrims. He was pastor of Hopewell, now in Lawrence county, Pa., and Youngstown, Mahoning county, Ohio. He was the first permanent laborer in the Western Reserve. He was born on Long Island, N. Y., June 29, 1768; studied at Canonsburg Academy and at Dr. McMillan's Log Cabin; licensed to preach the gospel by the Presbytery of Ohio, August 28, 1799; ordained by the same, September 3, 1800, and installed as pastor of Neshannock and Hopewell. During the next year he was released from Neshannock, and gave half his time to Youngstown. Of the churches of Hopewell and Youngstown he remained pastor until his death, March 29, 1815, in the forty-seventh year of his age.

Samuel Tait

was born near Shippensburg, Pa., February 17, 1772. He too studied at Canonsburg and with Dr. McMillan, and was licensed by the Presbytery of Ohio, June 25, 1800; ordained by the same, November 19, 1800. His first charge was Cool Spring and Upper Salem, in Mercer county, Pa. In June, 1806, he commenced his labors in Mercer, Pa., where his pastorate continued until his death, June 2, 1841, in the seventieth year of his age. This man proved to be one of Erie's great men. He was mighty in prayer, untiring in energy, and devoted to the Lord's work.

Joseph Stockton

was a Pennsylvanian; born near Chambersburg, February 25, 1779; studied at Canonsburg and with Dr. McMillan; licensed by the Presbytery of Ohio, June 26, 1799, and ordained by the same, June 24, 1801, and installed as pastor of the churches of Meadville and Little Sugar Creek, in Crawford county, Pa. This relation was

dissolved June 27, 1810. He was the author of the "Western Spelling Book" and "Western Calculator." He died October 29, 1832, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

ROBERT LEE

was another Canonsburg student, studying theology with Dr. McMillan. He was born in Ireland, in the year 1771; licensed by Ohio Presbytery, October 22, 1800, and ordained by the same, June 26, 1801; and installed as pastor of Amity and Big Spring, in Mercer county, Pa. He died in Leesville, Ohio, February 9, 1842, in the seventy-first year of his age. In person he was tall, slender, and dignified in deportment.

JAMES SATTERFIELD

was a Marylander, born August, 1767. Moving into Washington county, brought him within the sphere of Dr. McMillan's influence, and into the ministry. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Ohio, September 3, 1800; ordained by the same, March 3, 1802; and installed as pastor of the congregations of Moorfield and Neshannock. He died November 20, 1857, in the ninetieth year of his age. He was a large robust man, able and willing to work. He had one son, Meade, in the ministry, who died before his father.

WILLIAM WYLIE, D.D.,

was the last of the original members of the Presbytery of Erie. He was born in Washington county, Pa., July 10, 1776. He studied for a time with Thaddeus Dodd, also at Canonsburg, and of course with Dr. McMillan. He was licensed by the Presbytery of West Lexington, and by that body transferred to the Presbytery of Ohio, by which he was ordained, March 5, 1802, and installed pastor of the Churches of Upper Sandy and Lower Sandy, now Georgetown and Utica, the former in Mercer, the latter in Venango county, Pa. He died May 9, 1858, in the eighty-second year of his age.

Dr. Wylie was a man of more than ordinary power as a preacher. He was tall in stature, social, cheerful, and hopeful.

At the second meeting of Presbytery there were ordained and installed two brothers, John and Abraham Boyd, the former as pastor of Union and Slate Lick, the latter of Bull Creek and Middlesex,

all in Armstrong county, Pa. Then ordinations were accompanied by "fasting," as well as prayer and the laying on of hands.

This record brings us to the organization of the first Synod in the West.

HARDSHIPS.

The church was not planted here amid beds of roses. Her early progress was not like that of Cleopatra down the Nile with gilded barge and silken sails and cordage, to the sound of flutes and harps aeolian. The times were propitious, but full of hardships and difficulties. The virgin soil must be brought to the sunlight. Toil and danger must be encountered. Good hard work must be laid out in building the walls and setting up the gates of Zion. The first ministers came across the mountains on horse-back, bringing their household gods with them. They struggled with the first settlers, in the toils of the field, in the defence against savages, in the privation that must attend the early days of settling a new country.

And these hardships continued as the settlements were pushed northward toward the lakes, and westward beyond the Ohio. Hunters' paths were to be followed, rivers without bridges were to be crossed, the Gospel was to be preached in the shadows of the forest, in the log cabins of the settlers, wherever and whenever the way should be opened.

When John McMillan first entered his cabin in Washington county, he had two boxes placed one on the other for a table, and two kegs for seats for himself and wife. For weeks together he had no bread, but plenty of pumpkins and potatoes, and was satisfied.

In the year 1789, the Church of Fairfield, Redstone Presbytery, promised their minister his salary in money or grain, at the following prices: "Wheat at four shillings the bushel, rye or corn at two shillings and sixpence per bushel."

A notable instance of poverty and enterprise alike, occurred in the days of Joseph Smith's pastorate at Cross Creek and Upper Buffalo. The minister had purchased a farm, but he was in debt for it. His salary was unpaid. Grain was plenty, but money was scarce. Wheat would not bring over twelve and a half cents per bushel. The minister was notified that he must pay for his land or

leave it. Three years' salary were now due. If Mr. Smith left his farm, he must abandon his churches. The people could not raise the money. They could not borrow. They came together, and sought God's counsel. They could furnish any quantity of wheat. Mr. Moore, the miller, would grind the wheat. They resolved to bring their wheat, turn it into flour, and send it to New Orleans to market. The wheat was brought on the backs of horses from two to twenty-six miles' distance, from all over the country. A flat boat was built. The flour was placed on board. Who would undertake the charge of running it down the river, amid the danger of wreck, and robbers, and savages?

An old elder, William Smiley, sixty-four years of age, arises and says: "Here am I, send me." Two young men volunteer to go as his assistants. All the congregation assembles to see the party set out on their voyage. The pastor gives out a hymn, then offers prayer; the farewells are said, and the boat is pushed out into the stream.

More than nine months pass away without tidings. There is neither mail nor telegraph, and the birds brought no news. At length one Sabbath morning, as the people assembled for worship, they found old father Smiley, seated on his rude bench before the pulpit, calm, devout, as though nothing notable had happened.

At the close of the service, the people were notified to meet early the following week, to hear the report of the trading party. All were present on Monday. In brief speech, after thanks had been offered for the safe return, the old elder reported that all had gone well. They had reached New Orleans safely, and sold their flour for twenty-seven dollars per barrel. He then poured the proceeds upon the table, a larger heap of gold than any of them had ever seen before.

The young men were paid one hundred dollars each. Father Smiley was asked his charge. He replied that he ought to receive as much as the young men, although he had not worked as hard as they, but would take nothing until the minister was paid. The back salary was paid, with one year in advance. Elder Smiley received three hundred dollars, and a large dividend remained to those-who had furnished the flour.

There were hardships of various kinds. For many years danger

was apprehended from the Indians. The men brought their rifles to the church on the Sabbath, and occasionally some of the younger men were detailed to skirmish in the woods during the time of service. Some of the ministers themselves, during these dangerous times, carried their rifles to church, and set them in the pulpit whilst they were preaching.

It was through many tribulations, extending over a period of half a century, that the churches were planted, nurtured, and grew strong in the region covered by these Synods.

PSALMODY.

It is interesting to inquire into the principles and practice of the early Western Church on the question of Psalmody. There is nothing on record by the Western Presbyteries or Synods to afford light on the subject. But the action of the parent Synod is important. An overture was brought into the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, in 1763, as to the propriety of singing "Dr. Watts' imitation of David's Psalms." No specific answer was given, although the Synod declared that it had "no objection to the use of said imitation by such ministers and congregations as incline to use it, until the matter of Psalmody be further considered." The matter passed along with some attention until 1787, when the following action was taken: "The Synod did allow, and hereby do allow, that Dr. Watts' imitation of David's Psalms, as revised by Mr. Barlow, be sung in the churches and families under their care."

They further declared that "they are far from disapproving of Rouse's Version, commonly called the Old Psalms, in those who were in the use of them, and chose them;" discouraged harsh and unchristian censures on either side, and exhorted "to be more tender and charitable on these heads." At this meeting of Synod the Presbytery of Redstone was represented by Findley, McMillan, Power, and Barr, and this action no doubt reflected their sentiments.

The practice of the fathers most probably corresponded to this action. At the first the probabilities are that Rouse's Version was generally used, though in some congregations Watts' was used from the first. In the congregations of Mr. Dodd, at Upper and Lower

Ten Mile, Watts' was used from the beginning. This was the case in other congregations.

But there were other ministers and congregations where Rouse was the only acknowledged Psalmody. Sometimes a compromise was made. The service was commenced with an Old Psalm, and concluded with Watts. One of the old ministers used Watts' in his family, and at prayer meetings, until the way was opened for its use in the church. Still, on the first occasion of giving out a Psalm from the new book, an irate Milesian was so sorely grieved with the impropriety of the proceeding, that he started from his seat, approached the pulpit, and threatened to drag the minister down by the neck.

Good old Samuel Porter was sorely troubled over the matter. He could not think of using anything but Rouse. Yet on one occasion, hearing a strange congregation singing the hymn,

> Let those refuse to sing,
> Who never knew our God,

his warmth and ardor overcame his scruples, and he joined in with them, declaring that if his conscience would not allow him to sing such words he would wring its neck.

Apart from the matter of conscience, there was little difficulty in introducing the new hymnology, as books were not generally necessary. The Psalm or Hymn was always lined out. Sometimes one line was given out at a time, and sometimes two. This was done by the clerk or leader of the music.

This clerk was an important officer, and in dignity and importance second only to the minister himself. He occupied an elevated seat just under the pulpit, and when the Psalm was announced, arose and gave out the lines in a curious, half-singing tone, managing to close on the precise key on which the tune was to be commenced.

The singing was primitive. At the first, all sang a single part, called the "air." Gradually other parts were introduced—the "trible," the "counter," as they were called, and the bass.

The tunes were not numerous; they could easily be acquired. They were known as "The twelve tunes of David." Sometimes the clerk had the notes of them copied in "buckwheat characters," on the fly-leaves of his Psalm-book, and referred to them surrep-

titiously, as the minister did to the notes hidden away in his pocket Bible.

But the spirit of change came. Emigrants from New England passed through the settlements, on their way to Ohio, some of whom spent the winter. Some of these Eastern men were musicians, and introduced new tunes; especially a wonderful variety of tune called the "Fugue." A peculiarity of these fugue tunes was, that after the four parts had passed together over the first two lines of the stanza, they separated, leading off one after the other, each singing for itself, yet managing to come out together at the close. These fancy tunes became immensely popular.

A favorite amongst them was "Sherburne," usually sung to the Christmas Hymn:

> **"While shepherds watched their flocks by night,**
> **All seated on the ground,**
> **The angel of the Lord came down,**
> **And glory shone around."**

After singing the first two lines in the ordinarily staid manner, the air would lead off, "The angel of the Lord;" the counter would then take up the same line; when it had advanced the same distance, the tenor would strike in; then the bass; until the hearer would be ready to suppose that all the angels on the plain of Bethlehem were singing, each on his own account, with the prospect of being involved in inextricable confusion. Yet by judicious repeating on the part of those in advance, and hastening of those in the rear, the parts all managed to come out exactly together. It was a wonderful feat, however.

In process of time, as books multiplied and became common, the matter of singing without lining out became important. In many places the prejudices of the people were as strongly aroused against this as against a New Testament Psalmody. They had become so accustomed to lining out as to imagine that this was really a part of divine worship.

Gradually, however, the change was made, that was eventually to the satisfaction of the great majority of the worshipers. These changes, however—first, the adoption of the hymns of Watts, then the dispensing with lining out—resulted in the removal of many from

the Presbyterian Church, who preferred to go to other bodies, where the old system of Psalmody was in use.

The clerk had duties of another kind to perform. These were somewhat delicate in their nature, yet always discharged with dignity and firmness. This was the public proclamation of the bans of matrimony in the church, on three consecutive Sabbaths. It was done in this form: "There is a purpose of matrimony between John Smith and Hannah Brown, of which this is the first publication." The following Sabbath the formula was changed to the second, and then the third publication, when it was supposed to be proper for the marriage ceremony to take place.

Sometimes, during these publications, there was a visible smile among the younger members of the congregation, but the whole thing usually passed off with sobriety and decorum.

CHURCH EDIFICES.

The early church edifices were like the dwellings of the inhabitants, extremely rude and simple. The houses were log cabins, the churches log cabins of larger size. Many instances are recorded where churches were built in a single day, and without the outlay of a dollar. The first church building erected in Pittsburgh, was in 1786, of squared timber; but this was in the city, where style had begun to manifest itself. In the country the plan was less pretentious. Trees were felled of the proper size, cut to the desired length, notched at the corners, and laid up log upon log to the desired height. For the gable ends, the ends of the logs were sloped off, to give the proper inclination to the roof, and logs placed across to receive the clapboards. Then clapboards were split out of straight oak, placed in order on these logs, and kept in place by weight poles. The door and windows were then cut out, the floor laid with puncheons split from straight logs, the door made from the same, with wooden hinges and pins, and the windows filled with oiled linen or paper. The seats were logs, split and elevated on wooden legs; the pulpit was arranged, and all was ready for worship.

In the Erie Presbytery, in Cool Spring congregation, such a

church was built and fully completed between sunrise and sunset of a single day. In this case, the stump of a large tree was selected as the pulpit, and the church built around it. Two upright puncheons, with a third across them, were arranged as a breast work and support for the Bible. The minister's seat was arranged on the other side of the stump, with the wall of the church for his support. In some cases neither nail nor bit of sawed lumber was employed.

Where larger buildings were desired, the cruciform style was adopted. Such a building really had twelve sides and the same number of angles. There was nothing symbolical in these sides and angles. It was merely a matter of convenience and strength. The pulpit occupied the choir, and the congregation the nave and transepts. The style of house that succeeded this was a building of hewn logs, with glass windows and permanent seats.

In these primeval days, no provision was made for heating the churches. During the severest weather in winter, the people came, sat during the two long services, eating their biscuits, and shaking hands with the minister during the recess, and then returned to their homes. Occasionally an old foot stove, that had done duty in New England, was filled with coals and brought to church. But this was thought to be effeminate, and none but the aged women would resort to it. In the first church on the Lake Shore, an old sugar kettle was placed in the middle of the church, filled with charcoal, and the coal kindled, sending its gases out with the heat, much to the discomfiture of those who approached too near.

But there was a more primitive place of worship than even the log cabin. It was the green wood itself. The grand old forest trees lined its aisles, and the blue canopy of heaven formed its dome. Even after the days of houses for worship, the forest sanctuary was used in summer and on special occasions. A place was selected with the underbrush removed. A tent, as it was called, was erected for the ministers. This was simply a speaker's stand, with floor elevated some four feet above the ground, with breastwork in front, and seat in the rear. Far out from this, amid the forest trees, seats were erected of round logs, having convenient aisles, the ground ascending gently so as to command a view of the tent.

Such places were specially popular and desirable for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. At such times several of the neighboring

congregations joined, and the meeting was kept up for several days.

But even in such places the cold and snow were not insuperable difficulties in the way. At a sacrament held in the woods in Scrubgrass Congregation, in 1803, snow fell on Sabbath night, but the people came together, brushed the snow from the seats, and sat contentedly, listening to the Word. To this meeting many persons came from a distance of thirty miles.

When Cephas Dodd was installed at Ten Mile, the same year, the services were held in Joseph Riggs' sugar camp. The snow lay thickly on the ground, and the wind whistled through the leafless trees, but the voices of the speakers and singers were heard above all other sounds, and the people remained quietly until the solemn services were over.

In those early days the services were usually tedious; two long sermons, with the Psalms lined out previous to singing, necessarily consumed much time. There were no bells to summon the people. On Sabbath morning, for the space of an hour, they would be assembling, on horseback and on foot. Horses were tethered to trees. Women who had walked bare-footed, sat down on logs and put on their shoes as they came in sight of the meeting house. Those who came early sat down in the shade and awaited the time of service. At the proper time the minister was seen slowly entering the church, when the congregation, as though by a common impulse, followed him, and the service commenced.

The sacrament was the great occasion. It was announced through the entire region of country. The services commenced on Thursday. This was called the "fast day," and observed as the Sabbath. Then on Saturday, the session met to receive candidates. All the communicants then received "tokens," entitling them to the privilege of communing on the following day. These "tokens" were simple bits of lead with the initial letters of the name of the congregation upon them, and were distributed by the pastor and elders to all who expected to join in communion. For the accommodation of strangers an elder was usually stationed near the door, or tent, on Sabbath morning, with tokens in his hand.

On Sabbath morning the congregation was usually very large. On such occasions several ministers were expected to be present. The

"*action*" sermon, as it was called, was usually preached by the pastor. Then followed a process called "fencing the tables." This was a tedious review of all the sins forbidden in the Ten Commandments, and, by inference at least, forbidding all from coming to the table who had committed any of these sins.

In those days literal tables were always present. Sometimes there were accommodations for all present to partake at once; if not, there were two or more tables, just as circumstances might require.

After the long services of Sabbath, the meeting was usually concluded on Monday. It was common for persons from a distance to spend the evenings of Saturday and Sabbath in the congregation, and many a house in near proximity to the church was literally packed with guests; and these guests expected to act the part of hosts to their entertainers on some similar occasion.

Wonderful stories have come down to us of the power and eloquence of the old ministers, on some of these occasions. But the circumstances of the times must be taken into consideration. There were thinking people in the congregations, but their information was limited, and the truths of the Gospel were most eagerly sought and attentively received.

SYNOD OF PITTSBURGH.

The first Synod in the West was erected by the General Assembly, in May, 1802. The act recites "that the Presbyteries of Redstone, Ohio, and Erie, be constituted a Synod, to be known by the name of the Synod of Pittsburgh, and that they hold their first meeting in the Presbyterian Church, in Pittsburgh, on the last Wednesday of September next." The Synod met on the 29th of September, 1802, and was opened with a sermon by Rev. John McMillan. There were present twenty-nine ministers and sixteen elders. Seven ministers were absent. Rev. Jacob Jennings was elected moderator, and James Hughes and David Smith, clerks.

At this first meeting, the Presbyteries made the following report: The Presbytery of Redstone consists of eleven ordained ministers: James Power, pastor of Mt. Pleasant; Joseph Henderson, pastor of Ebenezer, and Black Lick; James Dunlap, pastor of Laurel Hill; Jacob Jennings, pastor of Dunlap's Creek and Little Redstone;

John McPherrin, pastor of Salem; Samuel Porter, pastor of Congruity; George Hill, pastor of Fairfield and Donegal; Wm. Swan, pastor of Long Run and Sewickley; David Smith, pastor of Round Hill and Rehoboth; James Adams, pastor of George's Creek and Union; Francis Laird, pastor of Poke Run and Plum Creek.

Vacant congregations, able to support a minister: Pittsburgh, Greensburgh and Unity, Pitt Township and McKeesport, Morgantown and Middletown. Unable: New Providence, Uniontown, Tyrone, Sandy Creek, Crossings, Clarksburgh, Tygert's Valley, Somerset, Turkey Foot, Wheatfield, and Stony Creek.

The Presbytery of Ohio reported that they consisted of sixteen ordained ministers: John McMillan, pastor of Chartiers; Joseph Patterson, pastor of Raccoon; James Hughes, pastor of Lower Buffalo and Short Creek; John Brice, pastor of Three Ridges and Wheeling; Thomas Marquis, pastor of Cross Creek; Thomas Moore, pastor of Ten Mile; Samuel Ralston, pastor of Horseshoe Bottom and Mingo Creek; Wm. Woods, pastor of Bethel and Lebanon; George M. Scott, pastor of Mill Creek and the Flats; John Anderson, pastor of Upper Buffalo; Andrew Guinn, pastor of Pigeon Creek and Poke Run; John Watson, pastor of Miller's Run; Joseph Anderson, pastor of Richland and Short Creek; John McClane, pastor of Montours; Elisha Macurdy, pastor of Cross Roads and Three Springs; James Snodgrass, pastor of Steubenville and Island Creek.

Vacant congregations, able to support a minister: Washington, New Lancaster, and Rush Creek. Not yet able: Jefferson, Waynesburg, Charleston, Grave Creek, Yellow Creek, and Long Run.

The Presbytery of Erie reported that they consisted of nine ordained ministers: Thomas Edgar Hughes, pastor of Mount Pleasant and New Salem; William Wick, pastor of Hopewell and Youngstown; Samuel Tait, pastor of Mercer and Upper Salem; Joseph Stockton, pastor of Meadville and Sugar Creek; Robert Lee, pastor of Amity and Big Spring; James Satterfield, pastor of Moorfield and Upper Neshannock: William Wylie, pastor of Fairfield, Upper and Lower Sandy; John Boyd, pastor of Union and Slate Lick; Abraham Boyd, pastor of Bull Creek and Middlesex.

Vacancies, able to support a minister: Slippery Rock and Lower Neshannock, Westfield and Poland, Upper and Lower Greenfield,

Scrubgrass and Bear Creek. Unable to support a minister: Warren, Breakneck, Thorn's Tent, Franklin, Concord, Big Sugar Creek, Oil Creek, Gravel Run, Middlebrook, Power's Mills, Crossings of Cussawaga, and Pymatuning.

Two important matters occupied the attention of the Synod at its first meeting—the organization of the "Western Missionary Society," and the establishment of a magazine. For the latter no less than twelve editors were appointed. The magazine was established, and continued in existence several years. It was called *The Western Missionary Magazine*, and was the repository of much valuable matter pertaining to the missionary work of the Synod. In 1807 the editors reported that the profits of the magazine had amounted to $334.32.

In 1808 two new Presbyteries were erected—Hartford (afterwards changed to Beaver) and Lancaster, in Ohio. The former was arranged with the following boundaries: "Beginning at the mouth of Big Beaver Creek; thence up said Creek and up Neshannock to the mouth of Little Branch; thence northerly to the mouth of Walnut Creek, on Lake Erie; thence along the lake to the west line of New Connecticut; thence to the southwest corner of the Connecticut Reserve; thence east along the South line of the Connecticut reserve to the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum river; thence in a direct line to the Ohio river at the mouth of Yellow creek; thence up the Ohio river to the place of beginning."

At the next meeting of Synod the new Presbytery reported as follows: Thomas Edgar Hughes at Mount Pleasant; William Wick at Hopewell and Youngstown, Ohio; James Satterfield at Moorfield and Neshannock; Nicholas Pittinger at Poland, Ohio; Benjamin Boyd at Beulah, Trumbull, and Pymatuning; Clement Vallandingham at New Lisbon and Long's Run; Johnston Eaton at Fairview and Springfield; James Boyd at Warren and Newton, Ohio; Joseph Badger, Jonathan Leslie, and Joshua Beer, without charge.

Vacant congregations, able to support a minister: Vernon, Vienna, Brookfield, Hubbardville, and Richfield.

Unable to support a minister: Salem, Beavertown, Cleveland, Hudson, Tallmage, Springfield, Burton, Canfield, Westfield, and Newcastle.

Three of these ministers had been added since the Presbytery

was erected, viz., Messrs. Leslie, Beer, and James Boyd. This last was one of a ministerial family; no less than four of the brothers were ministers of the Gospel, and all did good service in the work to which they were called.

Robert Patterson

was one of the early ministers on the shores of Lake Erie. He was ordained on the 1st day of September, 1803, and did good service in that new region. The field was new and promising, and he accomplished much, both as a pastor and missionary. He was born at Stillwater, N. Y., April 1, 1773; died near Pittsburgh, Pa., September 5, 1854. He was the son of Rev. Joseph Patterson.

Johnston Eaton

was settled on the Lake Shore, at Fairview and Springfield. Of the former charge he was pastor from 1808 to his death, June 17, 1847, He was stated supply of the First Church, Erie, for five years. Born at Franklin county, Pa., February 7, 1776; graduated at Jefferson College, 1802; licensed by Ohio Presbytery, August 22, 1805; ordained June 30, 1808.

Clement Vallandingham

was born in Allegheny county, Pa., March 7, 1778; graduated at Jefferson College in 1808; studied with Dr. McMillan; licensed by Ohio Presbytery, June 25, 1806; ordained and installed as pastor at New Lisbon, Ohio, June 24, 1807. He was pastor there until his death, October 21, 1839.

Robert Johnston

was of English extraction, being a lineal descendant of Oliver Cromwell; born August 7, 1774; educated at Canonsburg Academy and Dr. McMillan's log cabin; licensed by Ohio Presbytery, April 22, 1802; ordained by Erie Presbytery, October 19, 1803, and settled at Scrubgrass, Venango county, Pa. In 1811 removed to Meadville, Pa., until 1817; at Round Hill and Rehoboth until 1822; at Bethel ten years. He died May 20, 1861, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. Mr. Johnston was a successful pastor and an ardent christian. He was the father of Rev. J. W. Johnston, of the Presbytery of Shenango.

PHILIP JACKSON

the famous "praying elder" of Elisha Macurdy, did good service in the church. He accompanied Macurdy on some of his preaching tours as far as Lake Erie. (See Religious History, p. 57.)

JOSEPH SMITH

was another elder who might have received the same cognomen, for he was a mighty man of prayer. He was one of Mr. Tait's elders at Mercer, Pa. When over forty years of age, a plain mechanic, and with little assistance, he learned the Hebrew language, so as to use the Hebrew Bible for his devotional reading for the remainder of his life. He was the father of Rev. Jos. T. Smith, D.D., of Baltimore.

PRESBYTERY OF LANCASTER.

The Presbytery of Lancaster was erected with the following boundaries: "On the West by the line of the Kentucky Synod, on the South by the Ohio river, on the East and North by the West line of the seven ranges, and the line of the Hartford Presbytery; including Rev. Messrs. Stephen Lindley, Jacob Lindley, John Wright, James Robinson, and James Scott. They were to meet at Lancaster, Ohio, on the first Wednesday of April, 1809. Stephen Lindley was to preside. In 1810 they reported two additional ministers—George Vaneman and William Jones, with sixteen congregations.

In the older presbyteries a number of valuable ministers had entered on the Lord's work. New congregations were organized; the older settlements, and the tide of emigration was setting strongly in the direction of Lake Erie and Central Ohio. Much prosperity attended the labor of pastors in their own immediate fields, and also in the missionary work in which they were largely engaged in the regions beyond.

PITTSBURGH.

Pittsburgh, the great centre of influence in the region we are considering, was not at the first the most promising field of labor. After Mr. Beatty's visits in 1758 and 1766, Mr. Jos. Smith was sent by the

Presbytery of Ohio to preach there in August, 1784. A few months after this, Arthur Lee, of Virginia, speaks of the place in rather a hopeless way during a visit there: "There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel; so that they are likely to be damned without the benefit of clergy."

In 1785, Rev. Samuel Barr came here to preach, and was recognized by Presbytery without any formal installation. About the same time a church was organized, and a small log-house erected for a house of worship. Mr. Barr remained until June, 1789. For the next ten years they were dependent on supplies. In June, 1799, Rev. Robert Steele, from Ireland, began to supply the church. He had many difficulties. He could not for a time satisfy the Presbytery of his fitness for the work, and there were grave dissensions amongst the people. Finally, in 1802, he was received as a member of Presbytery, and a call placed in his hands from the congregation of Pittsburgh, when, without farther action, he was recognized as pastor. He continued to labor with them until his death, March 22, 1810.

The next pastor was

FRANCIS HERRON, D.D.

He accepted the call from the congregation in June, 1811, and continued the pastor until 1850, when at his own request he was released from his pastoral charge. His was a very successful pastorate. The gloom and discouragement that had prevailed were removed, and great prosperity followed. Francis Herron was born near Shippensburg, Pa., June 28, 1774; graduated at Dickenson College, in 1794; licensed by Carlisle Presbytery, October 4, 1797; ordained by the same, April 9, 1800, and settled as pastor of Rocky Spring Church. His life work was in Pittsburgh, where his memory will long be precious. He died December 6, 1860, aged eighty-six years. The second church was organized about the year 1804; Nathaniel R. Snowden was pastor in 1805. John Boggs became pastor, December 3, 1807, and was dismissed April 20, 1808. Thomas Hunt succeeded him, December 26, 1809; dismissed, July 1, 1818. He was succeeded by E. P. Swift, D.D., in November, 1819; dismissed March 1, 1833. Robert Dunlap followed, succeeded by Rev. W. D. Howard, D.D.

The church of Washington was organized in 1793. The first pastor was Rev. Matthew Brown, D.D., from 1805 to 1822. The second was Rev. Obadiah Jennings, D.D., from 1823 to 1828. The third was Rev. David Elliott, D.D., from 1829 to 1836. Then followed Rev. D. Deruelle, Rev. James Smith, D.D., Rev. W. C. Anderson, D.D., Rev. J. B. Pinney, LL.D., the present pastor, Rev. J. I. Brownson, D.D., who commenced his labors in 1849.

In 1814, the Synod of Ohio was erected by the General Assembly, detaching the Presbytery of Lancaster from the Synod of Pittsburgh, thus reducing its boundaries.

Presbytery of Grand River.

In the same year a new Presbytery was erected from the territory of the Presbytery of Hartford, called Grand River, including Rev. Messrs. Joseph Badger, Jonathan Leslie, Giles H. Cowles, and Thomas Barr. The new Presbytery was to meet at Euclid, Ohio, and Joseph Badger to preside. The next year they reported five ministers and fifteen churches.

In 1818 Grand River Presbytery was divided, forming the Presbytery of Portage, embracing Rev. Messrs. Thomas Barr, Caleb Pitkin, John Seward, Simeon Woodruff, Wm. Hanford, Joseph Treat, and Alvin Coe. The new Presbytery met at Hudson, Ohio, on the second Thursday of December, 1818, Thomas Barr presiding. The next year they reported eight ministers, and twenty-eight congregations.

Presbytery of Steubenville.

In 1819 two new presbyteries were erected from the old territory of Synod.

It was resolved by Synod, that so much of the Presbytery of Ohio as lies on the northwest side of the river Ohio, including Rev. Messrs. Lyman Potter, Joseph Anderson, Abraham Scott, James Snodgrass, John Rhea, Thomas Hunt, Thomas B. Clark, and Obadiah Jennings, with their respective charges, be formed into a separate Presbytery, to be known as the Presbytery of Steubenville. They were to meet at Steubenville, on the fourth Wednesday of October, 1819, Lyman Potter presiding.

At the next meeting of Synod they reported Lyman Potter and Abraham Scott without charges; Joseph Anderson at Richland and Short Creek; James Snodgrass at Island Creek; John Rhea at Beech Spring; Thomas Hunt at Two Ridges, and Obadiah Jennings at Steubenville.

Vacant congregations, able to support a pastor: Crab Apple, Westport and Nottingham; unable, Centre and Cadiz.

Of these ministers, Lyman Potter was advanced in years when the Presbytery was organized. He was a missionary and colporteur, and did good service in this work. He died May 17, 1827, in the eightieth year of his age.

JAMES SNODGRASS

began to labor at Steubenville and Island Creek, in 1800. He left that field in 1816. He was afterwards in Richland Presbytery.

JOHN RHEA, D.D.,

of Beech Spring, had the reputation amongst his brethren of being an able theologian and an effective preacher. He was grave, yet pleasant in manner, pure in heart, and earnest in life.

OBADIAH JENNINGS, D.D.,

was born in New Jersey, December 13, 1778; educated at Canonsburg; admitted to the bar in 1800; licensed to preach in 1816; pastor of the First Church, Steubenville, for six years; pastor of the Church of Washington, from 1823 to 1828; pastor at Nashville, Tenn. Died, January 12, 1832.

Rev. C. C. Beatty, D.D., says, in relation to Steubenville Presbytery: "There was preaching to the settlements on this side the Ohio River, by different ministers, as early as 1798–9. The Lord's Supper was administered by Dr. McMillan at Little Short Creek, and by Rev. James Hughes on the River Hills, about five miles north of Steubenville. The congregations of Short Creek (afterwards Mount Pleasant), Richland (afterwards St. Clairsville), were gathered by Joseph Anderson in 1799, and he continued their pastor for nearly thirty years."

Rev. James Snodgrass began to preach at Steubenville and Island Creek in 1800, continuing with the former about fifteen years, and with the latter nearly ten years. The congregation of

Cross Roads (afterwards Crab Apple) was gathered by Mr. Anderson early in this century, and Beech Spring about 1803, over both which Dr. Rhea was settled in 1804, and continued with them as pastor upwards of forty years. Cedar Lick (now Two Ridges) was established by Mr. Snodgrass, who ministered to it one fifth of his time. A few years subsequently, it and Richmond (now Bacon's Ridge) came under the pastoral care of Rev. Wm. McMillan. These were the first charges on the western side of the Ohio River, in what is now Steubenville Presbytery.

Washington.

The Presbytery of Washington was to include so much f the Presbytery of Ohio as lay between the Ohio River and the road leading from Georgetown to Washington and Waynesburgh, thence South to the boundary line of Synod, including Rev. Messrs. Thomas Marquis, Geo. M. Scott, Elisha Macurdy, John Anderson, Cephas Dodd, Joseph Stephenson, James Hervey, Andrew Wylie, and Thomas Hoge, with their respective charges. They were to meet at Three Ridges on the third Tuesday of October, Thomas Marquis presiding. At the following meeting of Synod they reported ten ministers and nineteen churches: Thomas Marquis at Cross Creek, George M. Scott at Millcreek and Flats, John Anderson at Upper Buffalo, Elisha Macurdy at Cross Roads and Three Springs, Cephas Dodd at Lower Ten Mile, Joseph Stevenson at Three Ridges, James Hervey at Forks of Wheeling and Wheelingtown, Jacob Cozad at Lower Buffalo, and Andrew Wylie, President of Washington College.

Vacant churches: Upper Ten Mile, West Liberty, Unity, Charleston and Waynesburgh.

Joseph Stevenson

was born near Harper's Ferry, March 25, 1779; studied at Jefferson College, and with Thomas Marquis; licensed by Washington Presbytery, October 18, 1808; ordained by the same, June, 1809, and settled as pastor of Two Ridges and Forks of Wheeling, until 1825; removed to Bellefontaine, Ohio, where he labored until set aside by infirmity. He died February 24, 1865, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. He was the father of Dr. Jno. M. Stevenson, of the American Tract Society.

JAMES HERVEY, D.D.,

was born in Brooke county, Va., August 13, 1782; graduated at Jefferson; licensed by the Ohio Presbytery, and ordained and settled as pastor of Forks of Wheeling and Wheeling. He was pastor of the former church until his death, September 13, 1859. He was everywhere regarded as an humble, godly, consistent minister of Christ.

WILLIAM SPEER

was a native of Adams county, Pa.; a graduate of Dickinson College; licensed by the Presbytery of Carlisle, June 22, 1791. He became a member of the Presbytery of Redstone in 1803, and accepted calls to Greensburgh and Unity. He labored here until his death, April 26, 1829. He was grandfather of Rev. Dr. Speer of the Board of Education.

TEMPERANCE.

In the present state of public opinion, it is interesting to inquire as to the views and practices of the early Western Church as to temperance. There is not much that is encouraging in the early history. Grain was plenty, the market was dull, and the almost universal practice was to condense it into the form of whiskey. Three-quarters of a century ago, every third or fourth farm throughout the counties of Washington, Fayette, Westmoreland, and Allegheny, had a distillery. The result was, the people drank, the elders drank, the ministers drank. It was thought to be a necessary beverage. In the winter the people thought it kept out the cold; in the summer they imagined it moderated the heat; in wet weather it was supposed to prevent colds; and in sickly seasons it was believed to prevent diseases.

But there is this much to be said in their favor: they manufactured whiskey, not a miserable compound of strychnine and slops, that poisoned, and crazed, and eat out the system.

So they used whiskey freely at births, at marriages, at funerals, on all festive occasions.

Notwithstanding, the testimony does not indicate that drunkenness was the vice of the times. It is true the Whiskey Insurrection occurred in the bounds of the Redstone Presbytery, but this arose,

not from the love of the people for the article, but from a mistaken notion that their rights were invaded.

Yet with all this, it can only be said in the Apostle's language: "The times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent."

In 1814 the Presbytery of Erie inaugurated a new movement in the matter in the following words: "Presbytery taking into view the pernicious effects of ardent spirits on the peace and good morals of society, and the necessity of testifying by example as well as precept against the common and excessive use of them at public meetings and social visits: Resolved, to make no use of them at their various ecclesiastical meetings."

Two years afterwards, the same Presbytery enjoins upon its ministers to bear public testimony against the vice of drunkenness. In 1829, the Presbytery resolved itself into a temperance society, on the principle of "rigid and entire abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, except for medicinal purposes."

The Synod of Pittsburgh took very decided action in 1816. After enumerating many of the evils of whiskey-drinking, it was "Resolved, that ardent spirits ought never to be used except as a medicine, . . . that the habitual use of it in families, and by laborers, is training up thousands for poverty, disgrace, the prison, the gallows, and eternal misery."

From this onward the testimony grows stronger and stronger, until the Synod plants itself firmly on the principle of total abstinence.

ALLEGHENY.

At the beginning of the century the site of Allegheny City was a wilderness. In 1812 a few settlers had made inroads upon the forest, and had builded their cabins. Notice is called to the fact in the minutes of the Presbytery of Erie, in April of that year, in the following words: "An indigent and needy neighborhood, situated on the Allegheny, opposite Pittsburgh, having applied for supplies," the matter was laid before the Presbytery.

Joseph Stockton seems to have been the first stated minister, preaching a part of his time there until 1819. Afterwards John

Joyce, and after him Job F. Halsey, preached until 1835. It was not, however, until February, 1830, that the first Presbyterian Church was organized. It embraced fifty-four members. E. P. Swift, D.D., was called to the pastorate in 1835. He continued with the church until his death.

Elisha Pope Swift, D.D.,

was born in Williamstown, Mass., April 12, 1792. On his mother's side he was descended from Rev. John Eliot, the "Apostle of the Indians." Graduated at Williams College 1813; theology at Princeton; licensed by New Brunswick Presbytery, April 24, 1816; ordained as a Foreign Missionary, September 3, 1817. Prevented, providentially, from entering upon Foreign Missionary work, he was settled at Pittsburgh in 1819, in Allegheny City in 1835. He died April 3, 1865, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Dr. Swift was majestic in person, towering in intellect, kind and tender in heart, and gave himself wholly to the work of the Lord. Two of his sons are in the ministry of the church.

Ashbel Green Fairchild, D.D.,

was born at Hanover, New Jersey, May 1st, 1795. He graduated at Princeton in 1813, and finished his theological studies at the same place. He was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Presbytery of Jersey in April, 1816; ordained as an Evangelist by the Presbytery of Redstone, July 1, 1818; and installed as Pastor of George's Creek, Morgantown and Greensboro, July 2, 1822, with a salary of three hundred and thirty-three dollars. In 1827 he resigned the charge of Morgantown and Greensboro, and was installed over Tent. He died June 30, 1864. He was author of "Great Supper," "Baptism," "Unpopular Doctrines," "What Presbyterians Believe."

Presbytery of Allegheny.

In the year 1820, the Presbytery of Allegheny was erected from the territory of Erie Presbytery. Its boundaries included so much of said Erie Presbytery as lies south of the line commencing at the mouth of Little Neshannock; thence up Big Neshannock to the mouth of Yellow Creek; thence up Yellow Creek to Hosack's Mill;

thence along the Mercer road to Franklin; north of Franklin to the mouth of French Creek; thence up the Allegheny river to the State line; embracing Rev. Messrs. John McPherrin, Abraham Boyd, Robert McGarraugh, Cyrus Riggs, Reed Bracken, John Redick, and John Munson, with their respective charges. They met at Butler, John McPherrin presiding, on the first Tuesday of April, 1820.

At the next meeting of Synod they reported: John McPherrin at Butler and Concord; Abraham Boyd at Bull Creek and Deer Creek; Alex. Cook at Ebenezer and Bear Creek; Robert McGarraugh at Rehoboth and Licking; Cyrus Riggs at Scrubgrass and Unity; Reid Bracken at Nebo and Middlesex; John Redick at Slate Lick and Union; John Munson at Plain Grove and Centre.

Vacant congregations, unable to support a pastor: Franklin, Amity, Richland and Redbank.

In 1822 some important changes were made in the boundaries of the Presbytery. All that portion of the Presbytery of Redstone situated north and west of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers, was attached to Ohio Presbytery. This territory embraced Rev. Messrs. John Andrews, Francis Herron, Joseph Stockton, Robert Patterson, and E. P. Swift.

In 1825 the Synod of Western Reserve was erected by the General Assembly from the territory of this Synod, embracing the Presbyteries of Grand River, Portage and Huron.

In 1830 the Presbytery of Blairsville was erected from the territory of Redstone, embracing the ministers and congregations north of the Pittsburgh and Stoystown turnpike, viz.: Rev. Messrs. J. W. Henderson, Francis Laird, David Barclay, James Graham, John Reed, Samuel Swan, Jesse Smith, Thomas Davis, John H. Kirkpatrick, Samuel McFarren, Elisha D. Barrett, James Campbell, and Watson Hughes, with their respective charges. The new Presbytery held its first meeting at Ebenezer, Francis Laird presiding.

At the next meeting of Synod, this Presbytery reported thirteen ministers, and twenty-four congregations, of which four were vacant.

In 1833 the name of Hartford Presbytery was changed to Beaver, as the town of Hartford, after which it had been called, was no longer within its bounds.

The Synod of Ohio

was erected by an act of the General Assembly of 1814, on petition of the Presbytery of Lancaster and Synod of Kentucky. The act was in these words: "That the Presbytery of Lancaster be separated from the Synod of Pittsburgh, and the Presbyteries of Washington and Miami be separated from the Synod of Kentucky, and be erected into a new Synod, to be known and called by the name of the Synod of Ohio; to meet at Chillicothe on the last Thursday of October next, and that Rev. Robert G. Wilson, or in case of his absence, the senior minister present, open the Synod with a sermon, and preside until a new Moderator be chosen."

At the time appointed there were present at the new Synod, from the Presbytery of Lancaster: Thomas Moore, without charge; Stephen Lindley, pastor at Marietta; Jacob Lindley, S. S. at Athens; John Wright, pastor at Hocking and Rush Creek; John Robinson, pastor at Mt. Pleasant; James Scott, pastor at Ebenezer, Clinton, and Frederic; James Cunningham, pastor at Salem and Fearing; William Jones, pastor at Circleville and Walnut Plains; Joseph S. Hughes, pastor at Delaware and Liberty; and James Culbertson, pastor at Zanesville and Springfield.

Vacant congregations, able to support a pastor: Waterford, Newark and Concord, Worthington, Union and Washington, Clear Creek, Amanda. Unable to support a pastor: Portsmouth, Gallipolis, Unity, Leading Creek, Berkshire, Licking, High Bank, Mansfield, and Wakatomaka.

From the Presbytery of Washington: R. G. Wilson, at Chillicothe; William Williamson, at W. Union, Manchester, and Cabin Creek; James Gilleland, at Red Oak; Robert Wilson, S. S. at Washington and Germantown, Kentucky; John Boyd, S. S. at Short Creek and White Oak; Nicholas Pittenger, at Nazareth, Rocky Spring, and Newmarket; Robert B. Dobbins, at Smyrna and Williamsburgh; James Hoge, at Franklinton, now Columbus; Samuel Woods, at Liberty; James H. Dickey, at Buckskin, Concord, and Pisgah; John Andrews, Samuel Baldridge, and John P. Campbell.

Vacant Churches: Hopewell and Alexandria; Big Bottom; Washington, Ohio; Oak Run and Todd's Fork; Harmony and Union, and Bethel.

From the Presbytery of Miami: James Welsh, at Dayton; William Robinson; M. S. Wallace, at Hamilton, Seven Mile, and Dick's Creek; Joshua L. Wilson, at Cincinnati; Daniel Hayden, at Duck Creek and Hopewell; John Thompson, at Springfield and Unity.

Vacant Churches: Bath, Lebanon and Yellow Spring, Honey Creek and Mackacheek, Washington and Troy, New Lexington and New Jersey, Brookville and Whitewater.

In 1817 a petition was received from members of the Presbytery of Lancaster requesting a division of that Presbytery. Accordingly a new Presbytery was erected, called the Presbytery of Richland, composed of the following members: James Adams, James Scott, James Cunningham, George Van Eman, William Matthews, Ebenezer Washburne, and Joseph S. Hughes. Many of these brethren attained to great usefulness and eminence in the church.

James Hoge, D.D.,

was the son of Rev. Moses Hoge, D.D. Was born in Moorfield, Virginia, in 1784. Licensed to preach the Gospel by Lexington Presbytery, April 17, 1805. Ordained by Washington Presbytery, June 11, 1808, and settled as pastor of Franklinton, Ohio, now First Church, Columbus. Of this church he was pastor until February 28, 1858, when he was released from his charge. He died September 22, 1863. Dr. Hoge was one of the great men of the Synod of Ohio. His influence was great in the Synod and in the General Assembly. With Drs. Rice and Lord, he was for some time a professor in a theological seminary in Cincinnati. The First Church of Columbus was the first of any denomination organized in that part of the State. This organization took place February 8, 1806. The first edifice was a log cabin, 25x30 feet. A new building was erected in 1830.

John Wright

was born in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, 1777. Graduated at Dickinson College. Studied theology with Dr. Power and David Smith. Licensed by Redstone Presbytery, October, 1800. In 1806 settled at Lancaster and Rush Creek, O., where he labored for nearly thirty years. In 1832 he retired from the active duties of the minis-

try. He died at the house of his son, Rev. E. W. Wright, at Delphi, Indiana, August 31, 1854.

James Culbertson

was born in Rocky Spring congregation, Franklin county, Pa., in 1785. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Carlisle, and in August, 1812, commenced his life-labors in Zanesville, Ohio. The congregation was weak, and without a house of worship, yet he set forward with zeal and hope. He was ordained December 24, 1812. He died February, 1847, after having been pastor of the church for thirty-five years.

Joseph Smith Hughes,

the grandson of Joseph Smith, of Redstone Presbytery, and son of Rev. James Hughes, President of Miami University, commenced his studies at Greersburg Academy, in Beaver county, Pa., and was licensed to preach and commenced his labors as first pastor of Delaware, Ohio, November 11, 1810, where he labored until his death, in 1823. He was Recorder for Delaware county. His disposition was genial, his popularity unbounded among the people, and his preaching very acceptable.

Joshua L. Wilson, D.D.,

was a Virginian, born in Bedford county, September 22, 1774. The family library consisted of a Bible, Watts' Hymns, and the Shorter Catechism. He studied privately, and was licensed to preach in 1802; ordained 1804. He was settled first in Kentucky. In 1808 he became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, where he continued for thirty-eight years, until his death. He died on the 14th of August, 1846. He was a man of more than ordinary talent and of great influence in the Church. He had a fine, stately form, with a bright, intellectual face.

Daniel Hayden

was from Western Pennsylvania; born April, 1781; graduated at Jefferson College 1805; licensed by Erie Presbytery October 20, 1808; settled over Pleasant Ridge Church, in the Presbytery of Miami, in 1809; died August 27, 1835, aged fifty-four.

ROBERT G. WILSON, D.D.,

was the first minister at Chillicothe, Ohio. He was born in North Carolina, December 30, 1768; graduated at Dickinson College in 1790; licensed by the Presbytery of South Carolina, April 16, 1793; ordained May 22, 1794, as pastor of two churches in his native State. It 1805 he accepted the call of the church at Chillicothe, then recently organized, with a salary of $400. In 1824 he resigned his charge, at the advice of Presbytery, to accept the Presidency of the Ohio University. This office he resigned in 1829, and returned to Chillicothe. He died on the 17th of April, 1851, in the eighty-third year of his age. He did a good work for Presbyterianism in Ohio, and has left an impression that will not soon be effaced.

In 1821 the Synod resolved to make a reorganization of the Presbyteries. This new division resulted in the organization of seven Presbyteries: Cincinnati, Miami, Columbus, Chillicothe, Athens, Lancaster, and Richland.

In 1824, ten years after its erection, there were in the Synod seven Presbyteries, sixty-two ministers, 143 churches, 5,745 communicants; showing an increase during that decade of about 100 per cent.

In 1829 the Synod of Cincinnati was erected, cutting off from this Synod the three Presbyteries of Chillicothe, Cincinnati, and Miami.

In 1834 the Presbytery of Wooster was organized, comprising nine ministers and twenty-nine churches. In 1835 the Presbytery of Marion was organized, consisting of eight ministers, and eighteen churches.

ARCHIBALD HANNA

was a Washington county man; born February 12, 1790; graduated at Jefferson College, 1815; studied theology with Dr. Rhea; licensed by the Ohio Presbytery in 1818. The next year he removed to Wayne county, Ohio. In 1820 he was ordained and settled as pastor of the congregations of Mount Eaton, Pigeon Run, and Fredericksburg. In 1824 he gave up Pigeon Run, in 1831 Mount Eaton. His last charge was Dalton. This he resigned in 1857. He died at Dalton, Ohio, June 9, 1875, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. He had three sons, and one son-in-law in the ministry—

Samuel (deceased), Joseph A., James W. and D. R. Colmery. All his other sons and sons-in-law are elders in the church. Mr. Hanna was a most faithful and laborious minister.

Synod of Western Reserve.

This Synod was erected by the General Assembly in 1825, on application of the Synod of Pittsburgh, from its own territory, and consisted of the Presbyteries of Grand River, Portage, and Huron. The Synod met at Huron, Ohio, on the fourth Tuesday of September of that year, Rev. Joseph Badger presiding.

In 1827 the Presbytery of Trumbull was organized out of the Presbytery of Grand River. In 1830 the Presbytery of Cleveland was organized from the territory of Huron.

In the year 1836, the Presbyteries of Maumee, Loraine and Medina were organized.

At one time the Presbyteries of Detroit, St. Josephs, and Monro, in Michigan, were attached to the Synod of the Western Reserve. In 1834 the Synod of Michigan was organized, embracing these Presbyteries.

THE STORM.

We approach the years 1837–38 with feelings of pain and the remembrance of the deep troubles of the past. They are the same feelings that move us as we refer to the years 1860–61 in our country's history. The Church is sitting under the heavy shadow of a cloud. The very atmosphere seems oppressive. The clouds are everywhere gathering. There is the distant rumbling of the thunder, and fear fills the heart of the Church. The storm falls at last. The Church totters and trembles and bows beneath its fury. Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, are rent asunder. Brethren who have talked and wept and prayed and labored together, are parted to meet no more as fellow-laborers.

It is the old story of Paul and Barnabas over again; disagreeing, parting in wrath, going different directions, blaming each other, excusing themselves: "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," yet sundered from each other as though they had never walked in the same path.

No sadder sight was ever witnessed upon earth—not even the disruption of the Church of Scotland—than this great American Presbyterian Church, torn asunder from North to South, from East to West. But the Lord reigneth. The Church was safe even when borne upon the raging billows.

The storm passed, but its consequences remained. Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies met once more, and the work went forward. But there was an earnest looking about to see the result of the sad division. It was like Æneas of old, with his comrades, numbering the ships that were safe, and mourning over those that had been borne away in the storm. The same glorious work was to go forward, but under separate management.

In the Synod of Pittsburgh the division was unequal. A few ministers and churches in the Presbytery of Ohio were organized into the Presbytery of Pittsburgh, N. S. In the Presbytery of Erie, the majority went with the New School. The other Presbyteries were nearly unanimously with the Old School.

In the Synod of Ohio the division was attended by the following results; about two-thirds of the ministers, a little more than this proportion of churches, and still more of communicants, cast in their lots with the Old School. The remainder adhered to the New.

The Synod of Western Reserve, in solid phalanx, adhered to the New School.

Each branch then girded itself for the work of the Lord under the new arrangement with zeal and new determination.

THE SYNOD OF WHEELING (O. S.)

was erected in 1841, composed of the Presbyteries of Washington, Steubenville, St. Clairsville, and New Lisbon. The first meeting was held at Steubenville, on the third Tuesday of October.

That year the Presbytery of Washington reported 21 ministers, 25 churches, and 3,552 communicants. Steubenville reported 18 ministers, 24 churches, and 2,292 communicants. St. Clairsville reported 11 ministers, 20 churches, and 1,239 communicants. New Lisbon reported 10 ministers, 24 churches, and 1,656 communicants.

Many of the ministers and churches of these Presbyteries have already come under our notice.

Henry R. Weed, D.D.,

was born at Ballston, N. Y., July 20, 1787; graduated at Union College; studied theology at Princeton, being the first student matriculated; licensed to preach in 1815; January, 1816, ordained and installed as pastor of the Church of Jamaica, L. I. Four years after this he accepted a call to the First Presbyterian Church, Albany, N. Y. In 1832 he went to Wheeling, W. Va., in charge of which church he continued until his death, although in 1862, under the pressure of years, he gave up the burden of his labor to his co-pastor, Dr. D. W. Fisher. He died in West Philadelphia, December 14, 1870, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

Dr. Weed was a kind, faithful, and sympathizing pastor. He preached the truth as it is in Jesus. With a cultivated intellect and a warm heart his message was always attractive.

In 1841 the Synod of Pittsburgh erected the Presbytery of Clarion out of the territory of the Presbytery of Allegheny.

SYNOD OF WEST PENNSYLVANIA (N. S.)

This Synod was erected by the General Assembly (N. S.) in 1843, embracing the ministers and churches connected with the Presbyteries of Erie, Meadville, and Pittsburgh. The first meeting of the new Synod was held at Meadville, Pennsylvania, on the third Tuesday of October, 1843, Rev. D. H. Riddle, D.D., presiding.

Of the Presbyteries composing this Synod, Erie was composed of the majority of the old Presbytery of Erie before the division.

The Presbytery of Meadville had been erected by the Synod of Pennsylvania, October 25th, 1842. Its first meeting was held at Meadville, Pennsylvania, January 10th, 1843, Rev. R. S. Lockwood presiding. It embraced all the ministers and churches of the Presbytery of Erie outside the county of Erie, the Presbytery of Erie being confined to Erie county.

The Presbytery of Pittsburgh had been organized from the Presbytery of Ohio by the Synod of Pennsylvania soon after the great division.

GEORGE A. LYON, D.D.,

was born in Baltimore, Maryland, March 3d, 1806. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1824. His theological education was acquired at Princeton; licensed to preach the gospel by the Presbytery of Carlisle, April 9th, 1828; ordained and installed by the Presbytery of Erie, as Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Erie, Pennsylvania.

Dr. Lyon continued the pastor of this church until his death, which occurred at Avon Springs, New York, March 24, 1871, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

PRESBYTERY OF ALLEGHENY CITY.

In 1853 the Synod of Pittsburgh erected the Presbytery of Allegheny City out of the territory of the Presbytery of Ohio. This change was with the view of forming the new Synod that was erected the following year.

SYNOD OF ALLEGHENY (O. S.)

This Synod was erected in 1854, from that part of the territory of the Synod of Pittsburgh lying west and north of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers. Its first meeting was held at Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, and was opened with a sermon by Rev. Wm. Annan, who was appointed to preside. Rev. David Elliott, D.D., was the first Moderator. It embraced the Presbyteries of Allegheny, Allegheny City, Beaver, and Erie. It reported to the next Assembly that it consisted of four Presbyteries, sixty ministers, and had under its care eighty-eight churches and eight thousand one hundred and twenty-four communicants.

HALLELUJAHS.

Thirty-two years have rolled away since the storm burst upon the Church. There have been many dark and many joyous days—days of tearful sowing, and days of joyful reaping and bearing of sheaves on either side, when a scene is witnessed in the streets of the City of Pittsburgh that must have made the angels glad. A throng of minis-

ters and elders come in glad procession from the Third Presbyterian Church, and are joined by a similar throng from the First Church. The mingled bands walk in triumph around to the Third Church, and, amid glad hallelujahs, the sundered branches of the Presbyterian Church are made one, once more. To God be all the glory!

NEW SYNODS.

The whole Church is reconstructed in its ecclesiastical boundaries. We have four Synods on the old territory: Cleveland, Columbus, Erie, and Pittsburgh.

NEW PRESBYTERIES.

The same year of grace, 1870, twenty new Presbyteries are organized by these four Synods, viz.: In the Synod of *Cleveland:* Cleveland, Mahoning, St. Clairsville, and Steubenville. *Columbus:* Athens, Columbus, Marion, Wooster, and Zanesville. *Erie:* Allegheny, Butler, Clarion, Erie, Kittanning, and Shenango. *Pittsburgh:* Blairsville, Pittsburgh, Redstone, Washington, and West Virginia.

These Synods and Presbyteries gird themselves anew for the work. This year, 1875, they report to the General Assembly the following statistics:

Ministers, 604; churches, 751; communicants added on examination, 5,563; total communicants, 84,588. Benevolent funds, $336,088; total funds, $1,244,964.

The seed that was sown a century ago has taken deep root and filled the land. "The hills are covered with the shadows of it, and the boughs thereof are like the goodly cedars. She has sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river."

The influence of these Synods has been most salutary in the region where they were first planted. The doctrines and practice of the early fathers prevail to a greater or less degree to this day. Their views of the Sabbath, as to its sanctity, its abiding obligation, and its blessed influences, their views of Bible truth and Christian duty, are substantially the views of the Church to-day. The influ-

ences of early Presbyterianism have given a stability and a permanence to society here, that is like that of the everlasting hills.

But it has not stopped here. It is felt to-day all over the West. The wide-rolling prairies are largely cultivated by the descendants of those who, under God, planted the standard of Presbyterianism here one hundred years ago. They carried with them and left to their children the rich legacy of prayer and faith and trust they had received from their fathers, and its influence is like that of the early and latter rain upon the thirsty land of the Orient.

In all this we trace the good hand of our God. He kept this land for us at the first. He planted this vine in this goodly soil. He sent here strong, earnest men to do his work. He poured out his Holy Spirit, and made his work to prosper during all the years of this century. There have been the storm and the calm, the joy and the sorrow, the weeping and the rejoicing. Both our fathers and we have gone forth weeping and bearing precious seed; but how often, oh, how often, He has permitted us to return with rejoicing, and bearing our sheaves with us!

And now, for all the success and prosperity of the past one hundred years, let us, this day, give God the glory. And let us gird ourselves anew for the work of the Lord, striving to plant the standard of the Cross still higher on the steeps of time, and looking for a new and grander baptism of the Holy Spirit to enable us to finish our course here with joy.

And may others take up this grand work when we lay it down, and carry it forward yet more triumphantly, until all over this land, from ocean to ocean, and from lake to gulf, and to the uttermost ends of the earth, the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and his name be praised!

And when we go up to "see the King in his beauty," and stand in the unveiled splendor of his glory on Mount Zion, and meet the fathers of this wonderful century that is closing, and with them recount the victories of the past, with glad and joyous hearts, we will be prepared to join in the loud acclaim:

"Bring forth the royal diadem
And crown Him Lord of all."

SKETCHES

OF

PITTSBURGH IN THE LAST CENTURY,

With an Account of the Organization

OF THE

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

In 1786-7.

BY

WILLIAM M. DARLINGTON, ESQ.

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PITTSBURGH IN THE LAST CENTURY.

IN Western Pennsylvania there are many traces of its occupation ages ago by that extinct race, the "Mound Builders," whose works of earth and stone, fortifications, mounds, or places for interment—often of great magnitude, implements for war, agriculture, hunting, and domestic use, are found throughout the entire country watered by the Ohio river and its branches, and especially in the States of Ohio and Kentucky.

Forty years since, an ancient fortification was plainly discernible, enclosing a few acres of high land within a bend of Chartiers Creek, at Woodville, seven miles from Pittsburgh, on the Washington road. There is a mound yet remaining on the ridge at McKee's Rocks, below the mouth of Chartiers; near it dwelt Shingiss, the famous warrior and King of the Delawares, when visited by Major George Washington, in October, 1753.

There is another mound of smaller dimensions, much reduced by the plow and surmounted by a venerable oak, to be seen in a field on the banks of the Allegheny, above Sharpsburg. In it, about the close of the last century, was buried Guyasuta, the distinguished Chief of the Seneca tribe of the Six Nations. His cabin stood a short distance from this burial place. It is well known that the successors of the "Mound Builders," the red race, occasionally used the same place for interment. In the garden of the late James Ross, near the present court-house, there was a small tumulus, and west of it, on the brow of Grant's Hill, a circle of about eight feet in diameter, formed by heavy stones set on their edge deep in the earth. These were destroyed when Grant's Hill was graded.

In the rear of Trinity Church, adjoining Virgin Alley and the line of division between the Episcopal burying-ground and that of the First Presbyterian Church, stood an ancient tumulus or mound, long since levelled. In it and the ground adjacent were interred the dead of the ancient race—the Red Indians, the French of Fort Duquesne, the British and Americans of Fort Pitt,* officers and soldiers of the Revolution, and many of the early inhabitants of the town, which, doubtless, occasioned the selection of that property for dedication to the uses of the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches of the town of Pittsburgh by the proprietors, John Penn and John Penn, Jr.

The Shawanese and Delaware Indians removed from the country on the Susquehanna to the upper Ohio, or Allegheny, from the years 1727 to 1729. With them came the traders, the first of the white race to make any kind of lodgment or settlement in the western parts of the Province. Many of them were men of excellent character; others, and especially the numerous hired men, were ignorant and dissolute, rapacious in their dealings with the Indians, and occasioning as much trouble to the Provincial authorities as the same class on the far Indian frontier do to the Federal Government at the present time.

At that period, the frontier settlements had extended to Peixtang, now Harrisburg, and there the chiefs of the Six Nations requested they should stop and not go farther. Especially did they desire the authorities of the province to "restrain the traders from carrying rum to the remoter parts, Allegheny and the branches of Ohio."

* Inscriptions taken from tombstones in Trinity churchyard, prior to their removal, a few years ago:

"Here lies the body of Richard Mather, Esq., late Captain of Grenadiers in the Royal American Regiment. He was born in Westchester, in England. Died at Fort Pitt, ye 16th March, 1762, and left behind him the character of a brave soldier and an honest man."

"Captain Samuel Dawson, of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot. From his youth enured to arms in British Service, but from principle took an early part in defence of American liberty, in which he distinguished himself as a gentleman and brave officer. Deceased Sept. 6th, 1779."

"Mio-qua-coo-na-caw, or Red Pole; Principal Village Chief of the Shawanese Nation; died at Pittsburgh, the 28th January, 1797. Lamented by the United States."

The Provincial laws in relation to traffic with the Indians imposed heavy penalties for their infraction, but it was not easy to enforce them in the wilderness.

The principal Indian towns to which the traders resorted or had storehouses in the "remoter parts," were at Venango, Kittanning, and Shannopin's Town. The latter was situated on the bank of the Allegheny river, now in the Twelfth Ward of the City of Pittsburgh, between Penn Avenue, Thirtieth Street, and the Two Mile Run. It was small, had about twenty families of Delawares, and was much frequented by the traders. By it ran the main Indian path from the east to the west. In April, 1730, Governor Thomas, at Philadelphia, received a message from "the Chieffs of Ye Delawares at Allegaening, on the main road," taken down (written) by Edmund Cartledge, and interpreted by James Le Tort,* noted traders. Among the names signed to the letter is that of "Shannopin (his X mark)." The chiefs' message was to explain the cause of the death of a white man named Hart, and the wounding of another, Robeson, occasioned by rum; the bringing of which in such great quantities into the woods, they desired the Governor to suppress, as well as to limit the number of traders. Shannopin's name is signed to several documents in the archives of the State. He appeared occasionally at councils held with the Governor. He died in 1749. In October, 1736, the President and Council of the Province issued a proclamation offering ten pounds reward for the apprehension of Solomon Moffat, a blacksmith, who had in a quarrel killed an Indian of the Six Nations, "at Allegheny, in the county of Lancaster;" although "at Allegheny" is indefinite, sometimes referring to Kittanning or other Indian towns on the river. This occurrence seems to be the same referred to by Governor Hamilton in a message to the Assembly in 1754, respecting the bounds of the Province, and reminding them "that a person apprehended for committing a murder at Shannopin's Town, which lies south of Logstown, was tried in the

* James Le Tort was a French Huguenot, Indian interpreter and trader. Lived in the Province from childhood. He had a cabin at the Spring, near Carlisle, in 1731 or earlier. Trading on the Allegheny and Ohio, from 1729 to 1739, he appears to have penetrated as far as the rapids on the latter stream, fifty miles below Parkersburg, well known as "Le Tort's Falls," where he probably had a trading camp or station.

Supreme Court at Philadelphia, and the evidence of the place being within the limits of this Province was so clear to the Court and jury, that he was convicted of manslaughter, and suffered his punishment accordingly.

France claimed the country on the waters of the Ohio by right of priority of discovery and exploration, first by La Salle in 1669–70, when he penetrated as far west as the falls near the present city of Louisville. It was resolved to expel the English traders and erect a line of forts connecting Canada and Louisiana. In the summer of 1749, Captain Celeron de Bienville, with a detachment of two hundred soldiers and thirty Indians, descended the Allegheny and Ohio rivers to the mouth of the Wabash, for the purpose of taking military possession of the country. As memorials of the French King's possession, leaden plates* with suitable inscriptions were deposited at different points along the rivers. A number of these plates were found in after years. One deposited at the point of land at the junction of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers, bore date "August 3d, 1749, at the Three Rivers."† Celeron encamped with his troops for some days at Logstown (a little below the present town of Economy), from which he expelled the English traders, by whom he sent letters to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, dated at "Our Camp on the beautiful river at an old Shawnee village, 6th and 10th August, 1749," and stating that he was there "by orders of the Marquis de la Gallisoniere, General-in-Chief of New France, whose orders are very strict not to suffer any foreign traders within his government."

In 1748 a number of prominent men in Virginia formed the "Ohio Company," and received from the King a conditional grant of 500,000 acres of land, to be selected by the Company west of the Allegheny Mountains, and on which they were required to settle one hundred families, and erect and maintain a fort. In 1750 they employed Christopher Gist to explore and examine the country bordering on the Ohio river and its branches. He was then residing on the Yadkin, in the present county of Wilkes, North Carolina.

* A copy of the inscription on the plate found at the mouth of the Great Kanawha can be seen in "Craig's Olden Time."

† In the Seneca dialect, Da-ya-o'-geh. At the forks or point of land between two streams.

He was a native of Maryland; like his father Richard, a surveyor; a man of excellent character, energetic, fearless, and a thorough woodsman. With a boy and two horses he arrived at Shannopin's Town on the 19th of November, 1750, and remaining until the 24th, swam his horses across the river, and then, taking the Indian trail, passed through the tract now occupied by the city of Allegheny, then down along the Ohio to Beaver creek, and thence to the Tuscarawas river, near the present town of Coshocton, Ohio. There he found a large town of the Wyandots, containing about one hundred families. On Christmas Day he read prayers to the assembled Indians, according to the forms of the Established Church of England and Virginia, which were interpreted by Andrew Montour. This undoubtedly was the first religious Protestant service ever held in the valley of the Ohio and west of the mountains.

After exploring the Miami country, Gist returned to North Carolina in May, passing through the region now Kentucky and South-western Virginia.

During the following winter of 1751–2 he was again employed by the Ohio Company in exploring the country bordering on the Youghiogheny and Monongahela rivers in this State, and on the south side of the Ohio in West Virginia as far as the great Kanawha; he was accompanied only by one of his sons.

In the latter part of the summer or fall of 1753 he commenced the settlement for the Ohio Company at the place since well known as Mount Braddock, in the present county of Fayette.

On the 25th day of August, 1753, William Trent* "viewed" the

* William Trent was a native of Pennsylvania, of which province his father was one of the Supreme Judges, and afterwards Chief Justice of New Jersey, where, on his land, was founded the city of Trenton. Captain Trent commanded a company from Pennsylvania, engaged on the northern frontier of New York, in 1746-7, in warfare against the French and Indians. Returning home he received the thanks of the Assembly for his success. His residence was in Cumberland county, south of Carlisle. On the formation of that county in 1749, he was appointed by Governor Hamilton one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas. He was afterwards engaged in the Indian trade, and excepting George Croghan, had more influence with the western Indians than any other white man, and was often employed by the Virginia and Pennsylvania authorities in negotiations and conferences with the savages. At the great treaty of Fort Stanwix, in November, 1768, he received from the Six

ground in the forks of the Ohio on which to build the fort, it being considered much preferable to the location at the mouth of Chartiers Creek, as originally intended by the Ohio Company.

On the 23d of November following, Washington, with Gist for his guide, arrived here on their way to Venango. He carefully examined both "sites" for a fort, and gave a decided preference to the land in "The Forks."

Of Washington's journey to Fort Le Bœuf, and interview with the French commander, Le Gardeur St. Pierre, you are no doubt familiar from his journal, and also that of Gist. Among the Indians who accompanied him on his way out he mentions the "Young Hunter," another name by which Guyasuta, afterwards so celebrated, was then known. On their return, compelled by the ice and snow to leave their horses and their companions, the journals relate that, clad in Indian costume, with packs on their backs, they struck through the woods for Shannopin's Town, and narrowly escaped being shot by a treacherous Indian they fell in with. They reached the shore of the Allegheny below the mouth of Pine Creek, on the morning of the 29th of December, and occupied all day, with "one poor hatchet" to work with, in making a raft to cross the river,* which was filled with floating ice. Washington fell from

Nations for himself and other traders—among whom were a number of old settlers here—George Morgan, Thomas Smallman, and John Ormsby, a grant of an immense tract of land, which they named Indiana, comprising about two-thirds of the present State of West Virginia, in compensation for their losses in the Indian war of 1763, stated to amount to the sum of near £86,000 sterling. A committee of Congress, in 1782, reported in favor of the validity of the grant. But Virginia having, by her constitution in 1776, assumed sovereignty and dominion over all the territory within the limits of her ancient charter (although it had been judicially annulled in 1624), and declared by express legislative enactment in 1779 that all sales and deeds by Indians for lands within said limits to be void and of no effect, the grant was rendered valueless to the holders, who had expended much time and money in their endeavor to maintain it, as doubtless they would have done but for the Revolution. This loss impoverished William Trent to the close of his days.

* The late James Ross, Sr., said that he asked General Washington at what point he and Gist pushed off to cross the river, and he replied: "It was directly opposite George Croghan's house." Croghan's house stood a short distance above the site of the Lucy Furnace, and a few

the raft into the river, again happily escaping death. They reached the island now known as Wainwright's, where they passed a very cold night. Gist had his toes and fingers frostbitten. In the morning, the ice being firm, they crossed to the main shore at the mouth of the Two-mile Run, and thence proceeded to John Frazer's at Turtle Creek, Queen Allequippa's at the mouth of the Youghiogheny, Gist's house in the new settlement, Will's Creek and home.

The French built their fort at Venango, on the site of the present city of Franklin, in the winter of 1753–54; it was named Machault, in honor of the French Minister of Marine and Colonies. They were at the same time busily engaged with preparations for descending the Ohio. St. Pierre was ordered to Canada, and the command of Fort Le Bœuf assumed by Pierre Claude de Pecaudy Sieur of Contrecoeur.

In January William Trent was commissioned Captain by Governor Dinwiddie. He was then engaged in building a strong log storehouse, loop-holed, at Red Stone. John Frazer was appointed Lieutenant and Edward Ward Ensign. Trent was ordered to raise one hundred men. He succeeded in getting about seventy. On the 17th of February, 1754, he, with Gist, Croghan, and others, met at the Forks, and in a few days he proceeded to lay out the ground and have some logs squared and laid, the Half King Tanacharison assisting. Captain Trent was soon afterwards obliged to go across the mountains to Will's Creek for supplies of provisions. On the 13th of April, Frazer being absent at Turtle Creek, and Ward left in command, he heard that the French were descending the river; he hastened to complete the stockading of the building, and had the last gate finished when, on the morning of the 17th, the French flotilla of 300 canoes and sixty batteaux, with 1,400 soldiers and Indians, and 18 cannon, was seen approaching near Shannopin's Town. They moved down near the fort, landed their canoes, formed and marched their forces within a little better than gunshot of the fort. Contrecoeur immediately sent Le Mercier,

rods from the present residence of Judge McCandless. Two ancient apple trees mark the spot. Of course General Washington referred to the locality of the house, which was not built until 1759 or 1760. In October, 1770, he visited Fort Pitt, and dined with Colonel Croghan, at his house, as related in his printed journal.

commander of the artillery, with two drummers, one of them as an interpreter, and a Mingo Indian, called The Owl, as interpreter for the Indians, and delivered Ward a written summons to surrender the fort and retreat. Le Mercier looked at his watch ; the time was about two. He gave Ward an hour to determine, telling him he must come to the French camp, with his answer in writing. The Half King advised Ward to temporize—to tell the French commander he must await the arrival of his superior officer. He went to the French camp in company with the Half King, Robert Roberts, private soldier, and John Davidson as an Indian interpreter, and addressed Contrecoeur as the Half King had advised. It was refused, and instant answer to the summons demanded, or force would be used to take possession of the fort. Having but forty-one men, of whom only thirty-three were soldiers, Ward surrendered the fort, with liberty to move off with everything at 12 o'clock the next day. That night he was obliged to encamp within three hundred yards of the fort, with a friendly party of the Six Nations. Contrecoeur invited Ward to supper, and asked him many questions concerning the English Government, to which he gave no satisfactory answer. He was also solicited to sell the French some of his carpenter's tools, but he declined to do so, although offered "any money for them." The next day Ward marched with his men for Redstone and Will's Creek. At the latter place he met Col. Washington, to whom he reported the affair. Thus the war commenced here which closed in America, with the surrender of Canada to the British, in 1760.

The French now vigorously set to work and cleared the Ohio Valley of the traders, nearly all of whom were from Pennsylvania, confiscating their goods, houses, and other property at different points. William Trent, George Croghan, Robert Callender, and Michael Teaff, were partners and lost heavily. In the original manuscript account and affidavit attached, their losses aggregated over six thousand five hundred pounds sterling. Among the items of interest are: One house with stores about three miles above Fort Duquesne, on the northwest side of the Ohio above the mouth of Pine Creek,* with large fields cleared and fenced, with ten acres of corn,

* Where Sharpsburg and Etna borough now stand, and where the White Mingo and other Indians of the Six Nations formerly had a village.

which we were obliged to leave, and the house now in possession of a French trader, £300. Several large canoes and batteaux to carry on a trade with the several nations by water, lying at the mouth of Pine Creek, of which the French immediately took possession, £80. One house with stores at the Sewickley bottom, about twenty-five miles from Fort Duquesne, up Youghiogheny, with fields fenced and grain in the ground, £300. One house at the Logstown,* twelve miles below Fort Duquesne, on the northwest side of the Ohio, £150.

Fort Duquesne,† so named in honor of the Marquis Du Quesne de Menneville, Governor of Canada, was a strong fortification of earth and wood stockaded. It was of inconsiderable dimensions, as compared with Fort Pitt, which afterwards enclosed its site. During its occupancy by the French, religious services were held by the chaplain in accordance with the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church. The register of baptisms and burials at Fort Duquesne occurring in the years 1753, 1754, and 1755, is preserved at Montreal with the French archives. Among them also is the record of the services on the occasion of the burial of the Sieur Marin, on the 29th of October, 1753, at Fort Le Bœuf, of which he was commander.

The most conspicuous name of all, however, and one of great historical interest, is that of the French Commander at Braddock's defeat, Beaujeu. (Translation.) "Mr. Leonard (Daniel), Esq., Sieur de Beaujeu, Captain of Infantry, commander of the Fort Duquesne, and of the army, on the 9th day of July, in the year 1755, and in the forty-fifth year of his age. The same day, after having confessed and said his devotions, he was killed in battle with the English. His body was interred on the twelfth of the same month, in the cemetery of the Fort Duquesne, at the beautiful river, under the title of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin, and also with

* Near Economy, eighteen miles below Pittsburgh.

† In 1786, Mr. Brackenridge wrote "that the appearance of the ditch and mound with the salient bastions and angles remained overgrown with grass."

About fifty years ago, some workmen employed in excavating a cellar for Shiras' brewery, at the Point, found the remains of the well, a French officer's saddle, and the stumps of a row of oak palisades, quite sound.

all the usual ceremonies by us, Priest Franciscan, Chaplain of the King, and of the above-mentioned fort. In testimony of which we have signed.

"Fr. Denys Baron,
P. F. Chaplain."

The name in full of Beaujeu was Daniel Hyacinthe Marie Lienard de Beaujeu. He was the second son of Louis Lienard Sieur de Beaujeu and Therese Mijean de Branssac, his wife, born in Montreal, August 17, 1711. The family was originally from Dauphine, France. Beaujeu had commanded at Detroit and Niagara, and seems to have succeeded Contrecœur at Fort Duquesne.

With the events of the next four years all are familiar. Washington's first campaign, skirmish with and death of Jumonville, on the 28th of May, 1754, and the affair at Fort Necessity; its surrender on July 9th, and the retreat to Wills Creek, and the advance and terrible defeat of Braddock's army on the 9th of July, 1755, followed by the bloody devastation of the frontier by the Indians.

William Pitt, the great Earl of Chatham, was placed at the head of the British Ministry, and under his wise and energetic administration the previous disasters to the British arms were reversed both in Europe and America. A letter from London, in the Pennsylvania *Gazette* stated, "that the great Mr. Pitt has the preservation and interest of the Colonies in America so much at heart, that those who are not sufficiently sensible of their importance say '*he is America mad.*' "

General John Forbes arrived in Philadelphia, in May, 1758. He was a son of Colonel John Forbes, of Pittencrief, Fifeshire, Scotland. In his younger days he was a physician, which profession he left for the army, in which, by faithful services, he rose to high rank. Brave, firm, prudent, and open to information and counsel. At this time he was in his forty-ninth year, and in infirm health.

On the first of June, the following proclamation by the Governor appeared in the Pennsylvania *Gazette:*

"By the Honorable William Denny, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, upon Delaware,

"A PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS, The Time is now come when, by the wise Providence of God, we, who inhabit these Colonies, are called upon to make one grand Effort for the Retrievement of our Honour, and the Preservation of our inestimable Privileges, civil and religious, against the insidious Attempts of a restless Popish Enemy, and their savage allies:

"AND WHEREAS, It is our Duty at all times, more especially at the Commencement of so interesting an undertaking, to turn our Eyes for Succour and Direction to the LORD OF HOSTS, the God of our Fathers, who has so often and so signally interposed in Behalf of the Protestant Religion; I have thought fit, by the Advice of my Council, to appoint Friday, the Sixteenth Day of June, next, to be observed as a Day of publick Fasting, Prayer, and Humiliation, before the Lord.

"And I do exhort, and strictly enjoin all His Majesty's loving Subjects within the Province and Counties aforesaid, to observe the said Fast with becoming Reverence and Devotion; to abstain from all servile Labour on that Day, and to join in the most fervent Supplications to Almighty God that He would be pleased, through the infinite Merits and Intercession of his Son, Jesus Christ, to forgive us our Sins, both national and private, to avert the Punishment justly due to them, to check the growth of Vice and Infidelity, to give Grace for Repentance and Amendment of Manners, to relieve us from the Calamities we groan under, and grant Success to the Arms of his Majesty and His Allies, especially to the several Expeditions now carrying on in these Colonies for securing to us, and our Posterity, the solid Enjoyment of Peace, Freedom, and a pure Religion.

"And, lastly, I do recommend it to the several Ministers of the Gospel, to compose Prayers and Sermons suitable to the Occasion, to be used in their respective Places of Worship that day; and particularly that they would endeavor to inspirit their People with true notions of Bravery and Publick Spirit, flowing from a due Sense of the Justice of our Cause, the many Blessings we enjoy under his Majesty's wise government, and His peculiar fatherly Regard, manifested on all Occasions, for the Protection of these infant Colonies, and the Preservation of the Protestant Interest in all Parts of the World.

"And I do further require the said Ministers to Publish this Proclamation to their respective Congregations, immediately after Divine Service on some of the Lord's Days preceding the said Fast.

"GIVEN under my Hand, and the Great Seal of the said Province, at Philadelphia, this Thirtieth Day of May, in the Thirty-First Year of His Majesty's Reign, and in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty-eight.

"WILLIAM DENNY.

"By His Honour's Command:

RICHARD PETERS, *Secretary.*

"GOD SAVE THE KING."

After reviewing the troops at Philadelphia, General Forbes set out for Carlisle in the middle of June, the last division of the army following on the 30th, the artillery with Major Grant. The troops numbered rather less than 6,000 men. Its success was anxiously hoped for, yet doubted by many, so despondent had the people become by the continued ravages of the frontier by the savages and French, from the time of the erection of Fort Duquesne.

Opening a new road through the forests and across the mountains, and bridging the numerous streams and swamps, was an arduous task, occasioning unlooked-for delays in the march.

Early in September the advance of the army was at Ligonier, under Col. Bouquet. On the 11th, Major James Grant, with 800 men, marched towards Fort Duquesne to reconnoitre. Receiving information that the French force amounted only to about 200 men, he attempted, on the morning of the 14th, to draw them out by a showy display of part of his Highlanders, posted on the hills, with drums beating and bagpipes playing. The French, however, had the day before received a reinforcement of 400 men from Illinois, under Captain Aubrey, commander in the attack on Grant, who met with a bloody defeat on the hill where our Court House now stands, and along through the woods to where the baggage was kept with a guard—on the slope above the Two Mile run, about the junction of Butler Street and Penn Avenue. Grant was captured, but soon exchanged. In 1760 he was Governor of East Florida. He afterwards rose to high rank in the British army, and served in it during part of the War of the Revolution. He was in the battle of Germantown and Monmouth Court House; at the latter he com-

manded, and defeated the American General Lee. He died at his seat at Ballendalloch, near Elgin, Scotland, May 13, 1806, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. At the time of his death he was Governor of Stirling Castle.

Captain Aubrey, the French commander, was taken prisoner the next year at Niagara. He was afterwards Governor of the French colony at New Orleans. Returning to France in February, 1770, he lost his life by the sinking of the vessel off the French coast, near the mouth of the Garonne. A detachment of the French troops, under Captain Vitry, attacked Ligonier soon after Grant's disaster, but, after an action of three hours, were repulsed. On Friday, the 24th of November, 1758, the French commander, De Ligneris, set Fort Duquesne on fire and abandoned it. The same night the Light troops of the army, under General Forbes, took possession. The main body with the General arrived the next day. The place was immediately named Pittsburgh, in honor of William Pitt. Sunday, the 26th, was observed by the General's orders as "a Day of Public Thanksgiving to Almighty God" for their success, and the Rev. Charles Beatty, a Presbyterian minister, and chaplain to Col. Clapham's Pennsylvania regiment, preached a thanksgiving sermon, which, undoubtedly, was the first Protestant or Presbyterian sermon ever delivered west of the mountains. On Monday, the 27th, the troops had "a grand *feu-de-joie*," and on the following day a large detachment marched to Braddock's battlefield to bury the bones of the soldiers still lying above ground.

In Philadelphia there was great rejoicing on the receipt of the news of the success of the army—illuminations, bonfires, and ringing of bells. The Governor appointed the 20th of December as a day of Thanksgiving.

General Forbes left Pittsburgh on the 3d of December, for Philadelphia, where he did not arrive until the 17th of January, having been detained on the way by severe sickness, bad weather and roads. On his arrival cannon were fired and the bells rung. He addressed the following letter to Col. Bouquet.

"To Colonel Henry Bouquet, of the Royal American Regiment:

"Philadelphia, 20th February, 1759.

"Sir: General Forbes, highly sensible of the many fatigues and

hardships you and your officers and the troops in general under his command have underwent during the course of the most extraordinary campaign that has happened in this or any other country, and willing at the same time to give some public testimony of his approbation to the gentlemen under his command, has ordered me to acquaint you and the commanding officers of corps that he has directed a gold medal to be struck to the following purpose, which he hereby authorizes the officers of his army to wear as an honorary reward for their faithful services, and as soon as an opportunity offers he intends to inform His Majesty of it.

"In the meantime, your officers and Col. Montgomery's may be provided in town.

"The medal has on one side the representation of a road cut through an immense forest, over rocks and mountains. The motto, '*Per tot Discrimina.*' On the other side, are represented the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers, a fort in flames in the forks of the river, and the approach of Gen. Forbes, carried on a litter, followed with the army marching in columns with cannon. The motto, '*Ohio Brittanick Consilio Manuque.*'

"This is to be worn around the neck with a dark blue ribbon.

"By the General's command,

"JAMES GRANT,

"*Lieut. in His Majesty's 62d Reg't, H. B.*

"N.B.—General Forbes is of opinion that such of our officers as choose to provide themselves with the above medal should have a copy of this letter, signed and attested by you, as a warrant for their wearing it.—J. G."

General Forbes died in Philadelphia, on the 11th of March, 1759, in the slate-roofed house on Second Street, the residence of William Penn in 1700. He was buried with unusual pomp and ceremony on the 14th, in the chancel of Christ Church. The precise spot is unknown. So distinguished a soldier deserves a monument.

The first Fort Pitt was a small stockade, with bastions, erected in December, 1758. It stood on the bank of the Monongahela river, between Liberty and West Streets, within two hundred yards of Fort Duquesne.

General John Stanwix, the successor of General Forbes, arrived at Pittsburgh in August, 1759, and on the 3d day of September the

work of building a "formidable fortification" commenced, in obedience to the orders of the Secretary of State, William Pitt.

Although occupied in 1760, it was not finished until the summer of 1761, under Colonel Bouquet, who also erected an additional building in 1764, the brick redoubt now standing, and the only relic of British domination in the valley of the Ohio. The stone bomb-proof magazine was removed when the Pennsylvania Railway Company built their freight depot, in 1852. Fort Pitt occupied all the ground between the rivers, Marbury, now Third Street, West Street, and part of Liberty Street.

The first town of Pittsburgh was built near the Fort, in 1760. It was divided into the upper and lower town. In a carefully prepared list of the houses and inhabitants out of the fort, made for Col. Bouquet, April 15, 1761, by Captain William Clapham, and headed "A return of the number of houses, of the names of the owners, and number of men, women, and children in each house, Fort Pitt, April 14, 1761," the number of inhabitants is two hundred and thirty-three men, women, and children, with the addition of ninety-five officers, soldiers, and their families residing in the town, making the whole number three hundred and thirty-two. Houses, one hundred and four. The lower town was nearest the fort, the upper on the higher ground, principally along the bank of the Monongahela, extending as far as the present Market Street. In this list of the early inhabitants are the names of George Croghan, William Trent, John Ormsby, John Campbell, Ephraim Blaine, and Thomas Small.

In May, 1763, when the Indian war, usually called Pontiac's War, broke out, the inhabitants removed into the fort, and destroyed the town by levelling the houses with the ground, that they might not give shelter to the savages when making their threatened attack, which soon commenced, and was renewed at intervals, happily unsuccessfully, until the battle of Bushy Run, on the 5th and 6th of August, gallantly fought and won by the troops under Col. Bouquet, who compelled the Indians to raise the siege and retire. In October, 1764, Col. Bouquet, at the head of an army, made a treaty of peace with the assembled chiefs of the several Indian tribes at the forks of the Muskingum.

The second town of Pittsburgh was laid out in 1765, by Col. John

Campbell,* by permission of the commanding officer at Fort Pitt. It comprised the ground within Water, Market, Second and Ferry Streets. Campbell's plan of lots was subsequently incorporated unaltered in the survey made by George Woods for the Penns in 1784, and is known as the "Old Military Plan." Two of the houses built on lots in that plan are now standing on Water Street, near Ferry. They are constructed of hewn logs weather-boarded. These, with the two on the southeast corner of Penn and Marbury (Third) Street, formerly owned and occupied by Gen. Richard Butler and his brother, Col. William, are the oldest in Pittsburgh or west of the Alleghenies. Of course the old brick redoubt of Col. Bouquet, between the Point and Penn Street, is excepted. It, however, was not originally built for a dwelling-house, but as an outwork or addition to Fort Pitt.

Matthew Clarkson, a merchant of Philadelphia, engaged in the Indian trade, arrived at Fort Pitt on his way to Fort Chartres, Illinois, on the 18th day of August, 1766. He states, in his diary, that on Sunday, the 24th, he "went and heard Mr. McCleggan preach to the soldiers in Erse—but little edified. He preached alternately one Sunday in that language and the next in English." The diary records the arrival, on September 6th, of Messrs. Beatty and Duffield, the Presbyterian ministers sent out on a mission to the Western Indians by the Synods of New York and Philadelphia.

It continues, September 7th: "Mr. Beatty preached this morning in the fort, and Mr. Duffield in the town. Dined with them at the mess. Afternoon, went to hear Mr. Duffield in the town."

"September 9th. This evening Mr. Duffield preached in the town, a very judicious and alarming discourse."

* Col. John Campbell was an Irish gentleman, described as of fine personal appearance, large, of strong mind, but rough in manner. He was for a long time a prisoner at Fort Chambly in the war of the Revolution. He was at Fort Pitt as a witness of the Indian treaty, on September 17th, 1778. Removed to Kentucky, where he owned a tract of several thousand acres of land at the falls of Ohio, on which he laid out the town of Campbellton, afterwards Shippingport, now part of the city of Louisville. He was prominent in the early history of Kentucky. Member of the convention to form the first constitution; also, of the Senate, of which he was Speaker. Campbell county was named in honor of him. Died in 1799.

"September 10th. This afternoon Messrs. Beatty and Duffield* set off on the embassy among the Indians."

Foremost among the Protestant Christians in the task of converting the Indians were the Moravian Brethren. The mild endurance and self-sacrificing spirit of Zeizberger, Heckwelder, Post, Roth, Ettwein, Senseman, and others of that denomination, effected more than the enthusiastic zeal of the French Jesuits in the early days of Catholic Missions in Canada.

In the heart of the wilderness, on the upper Allegheny, near the present Tionesta, in Forest county, at Goschoschunk, a village of the Munsees, though in the Seneca country, David Zeizberger preached to the Indians in the fall of 1767. In the summer of the next year a log mission-house of considerable dimensions was erected. It was dedicated on June 30th, 1768. The meetings were attended by great numbers of the Indians, arrayed in their best garments, with their faces painted black and vermillion, and heads decorated with foxtails. The missionaries removed three miles above, on the north side of the river, and with their converts established a little village of log huts, in 1769, named Lamunhannek. There, on September 1st, they began to build a chapel and dwelling-house, which they inhabited before the winter, and consecrated the chapel, in which was hung a bell sent from from Bethlehem, and for the first time the valley of the Allegheny echoed "the sound of the church-going bell."

In December converts were baptized. The next year it was deemed expedient to remove further west. In April, 1770, the missionaries with their converts, in fifteen canoes, descended the Allegheny to Pittsburgh, where the people of the town and garrison were surprised at the unusual sight of Christian Indians. They proceeded down the Ohio and up the Beaver, where, on the east side, five miles below the present New Castle, on the site of a former Wyandotte village, they made their encampment. After a few months, they removed to the west side of the river, a high steep bank or

* Mr. Charles Beatty was long a distinguished member of the early Presbyterian Church of this State. His journal of his tour to the West was published in London, in 1768. It is very interesting, and should be reprinted, with a full biography of the author.

The Rev. George Duffield of Carlisle.

table land of about five acres in extent, now in North Beaver township, Lawrence county, near Moravia station, on the Pittsburgh and Erie Railway. There they built a regular formed village of about 25 or 30 log-houses, with stone chimneys, a number of which were standing forty years ago. A log church was erected and dedicated June 20, 1771, at which time the Mission numbered one hundred persons. In June and August, 1772, they received large accessions to the colony by the arrival of Ettwein and Roth, with the converts from Wyalusing, now in Bradford county, on the Susquehanna. Close by the town ran the old Indian path from Soh-kon, at the mouth of Beaver, to the noted Indian town Kuskuske, nine miles above the Moravian village, and where Edenburg now stands in Lawrence county, on the south side of the Mahoning. The Indians were averse to the mission, but restrained from hostilities by the influence of George Croghan. Their threatening conduct, however, determined the brethren to remove to the Tuscarawas river, in the spring of 1773. Some blackened ashes of the smith-shop alone remain to mark the spot on the banks of the Beaver, where once stood Friedenstadt, or the City of Peace.

On the 17th of October, 1770, Col. George Washington arrived at Pittsburgh, on his way to examine the lands on the Upper Ohio, and great Kanawha. In the journal of his tour he mentions lodging,* while here, "in what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the Fort." The houses, which are built of logs, and ranged "in streets, are on the Monongahela, and, I suppose, may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders."

The Rev. Daniel McClure, a missionary, who visited the Indians on the Muskingum, in the summer of 1772, relates in his journal that he "tarried about three weeks at Pittsburgh, and preached several times to the people of the village, who lived in about thirty log-houses; and also to the British garrison in the Fort, a few rods distance, at the request of the commanding officer, Major Edmundstone."

In 1774, after about ten years of peace with the Indians, the war with the Shawanese, usually known as Dunmore's War, broke out,

* At (Samuel) "Semple's, who keeps a very good house of public entertainment." It stood on the east corner of Water and Ferry Streets.

directly occasioned by the infamous massacre of the family of Logan, the celebrated chief, opposite the mouth of Yellow Creek (near the present town of Wellsville, Ohio), and other outrages on the frontier. Such was the opinion and sworn statement of General Richard Butler, a most competent judge. Thenceforward there was no general peace with all the tribes until after Wayne's victory, in 1794. This year was one, also, of unusual trouble and trial to the settlers at Pittsburgh and the southwestern part of Pennsylvania. The territory was claimed by Virginia, whose jurisdiction the Governor, Lord Dunmore, attempted by violent measures to enforce. Fort Pitt was seized by a band of his armed partizans, headed by Dr. John Connolly, who named the fort Dunmore. Civil officers were commissioned by the Virginia authorities, court-houses erected, and Virginia courts regularly held within the limits of Westmoreland (now Allegheny) and Washington counties. The people were divided in their allegiance; arrests and counter-arrests followed. Arthur St. Clair wrote to Gov. Penn that the Pennsylvanians were determined to abandon Pittsburgh, unless matters should be soon settled, and that "it will be absolutely necessary to erect a town at the Kittanning; the trade must else take its course by the Lakes, which will carry it quite away from this Province." After the war of the Revolution broke out, a recommendation from Congress abated the civil strife, and the controversy finally closed in favor of Pennsylvania by the completion of Mason and Dixon's line, in 1784, the present boundary.

Passing over, on this occasion, the period of the Revolutionary War, with the observation that the people of Western Pennsylvania were unexcelled by those of any other section in the Colonial Union in patriotic zeal and active resistance to the oppressive measures of the mother country; furnishing men and supplies for the Continental armies, although their families and frontier homes were exposed to the frequent incursions of the neighboring savage allies of Great Britain.

Penn's Manor of Pittsburgh was originally surveyed in February and March, 1769. It contained 5,766 acres. In May and June, 1784, George Woods and Thomas Vickroy, of Bedford, surveyors, by direction of Tench Francis, of Philadelphia, agent of the proprietaries, laid out the town of Pittsburgh, and divided the resi-

due of the manor into out-lots and farms. By the original plan, four lots, forming the square between Smithfield, Second, and Third Streets and Cherry Alley, were dedicated for the purposes of an academy.

Five contiguous lots fronting on Sixth Street were dedicated to religious uses, and were subsequently divided equally between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians.

At this time all the country north and west of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers, to the Western line of the State, was claimed and occupied by different tribes of Indians, whose title thereto was extinguished by deed to the State from the chiefs of the Six Nations, for the sum of five thousand dollars, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, New York, October 23, 1784; and by deed from the chiefs of the Wyandots and Delawares, for the sum of three thousand dollars, at the treaty held at Fort McIntosh (now Beaver), January 21, 1785. In 1786 the population of Pittsburgh was less than four hundred persons. It contained about one hundred log houses, one of stone and one frame, and five small stores. On the 29th of July of that year, the first number of the Pittsburgh *Gazette* was printed. It was the first newspaper published west of the Allegheny Mountains.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN PITTSBURGH.

In the General Assembly at Philadelphia, on Monday, December 4, 1786, the bill for disposing of the lands, and laying out a town thereon, opposite to Pittsburgh, was read a second time and considered by paragraphs. The clause which reserved some lots for building a court house, jail, and market house on was proposed to be amended by adding, "and lots for a church and burying ground."

Mr. Fitzsimmons opposed this, because it did not describe the particular society they were intended for.

Mr. Brackenridge* facetiously replied that the religion at Pitts-

*Hugh Henry Brackenridge was born in Scotland, in 1748. Came to America when a child with his parents, who settled in the southeastern part of York county. Entered Princeton College at the age of eighteen, and, after graduating, was for some time a tutor. Studied divinity and was licensed to preach. In 1777 he was chaplain to a regiment in the Continental army. Studied law under Judge Chase of the Supreme Court of the United States. He came to Pittsburgh in 1781. In 1786 he was elected a member of the Legislature. In 1792 the first two volumes

burgh was a true Catholicism. There was but one church there, and every one went to it, never inquiring into the religion of others. He supposed if they were so harmonized while living, they would not be apt to quarrel when dead for only being laid alongside of one another.

Some further conversation passed, and it was agreed to insert "house of worship and burying ground," after which the bill was ordered to be printed for public consideration.

"On Tuesday, December 12, 1786, agreeably to leave given for that purpose, a member read in his place a bill entitled 'An act to incorporate a religious Christian society at the town of Pittsburgh, in the county of Westmoreland, at this time under the pastoral care of the Rev. Samuel Barr,' and having presented the said bill to the chair, it was read the first time and ordered to lie on the table." The same day Mr. Brackenridge called for the second reading of the bill for incorporating the Presbyterian congregation at Pittsburgh.

While the clauses were under consideration, Mr. Brackenridge moved to amend by striking out "Presbyterian Congregation," and inserting "Religious Society."

Mr. Wynkoop was against the amendments. He thought it behooved them to choose a religion before they applied to be incorporated; and wording it in so loose a manner would give rise to future quarrels and bickerings.

Mr. Brackenridge insisted upon the amendment, for they were not a Presbyterian congregation to his knowledge; they had no particular church government. They had but one clergyman, a gentleman of reputation, and a good preacher. There was no other of that place except a German, but then he did not preach in English.

of his celebrated work, "Modern Chivalry," was published at Philadelphia; the third volume was published at Pittsburgh, in 1793. It was printed at the office of the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, by John Scull, and was the first book printed and published west of the mountains. The fourth and last volume was not published until 1797, at Philadelphia, the Whiskey Insurrection having occurred, in which Mr. Brackenridge was accused of bearing an equivocal part, and he afterwards—in 1795—wrote a book to exculpate himself. He was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court for sixteen years, to the time of his death at Carlisle, in 1816. He was a man of great scholastic and legal attainments, eccentric, witty, and independent.

He observed that if a division took place among the inhabitants, it would be in consequence of styling it a Presbyterian congregation; they would be unable to support that one, the loss of which would be great, as it was of the highest use in keeping up order, and enforcing the practice of morality, an object he (Mr. Brackenridge) had much at heart. Therefore he was guarded against making such a distribution when he drew up the petition upon which the bill was founded.

He had no objection to allowing it to be a Christian Church wherein the gospel was preached; this would have the approbation of the people there, for no one dare use the word Presbyterian, or Church of England, there—they have no such distinction. As for choosing our religion, he thought it an affront. Choose our religion! It is not a thousand articles of faith that constitute religion; and we have chosen it—it is the Christian. But as for the mode of church government, Presbyterian or Episcopal, we have no thought of it.

Our clergymen may belong to some clerical body. For all we know he may have received orders from the Pope or Archbishop of Canterbury, or have taken it up of his own accord, but how or which way he became a minister is no part of our inquiry; it lies with himself. In the 15th and 16th centuries much noise was made about this government, and about some obscure and minute points of faith, but that cloud of darkness has passed away, and in this enlightened age we smile at their frensies. It is a principle now of our creed, that whatever clergyman of good reputation and morality comes among us, he be permitted the use of our church; and Mr. Penn, the proprietor of the Pittsburgh manor, would give them three or four lots for their accommodation, if they were incorporated; but he supposed Mr. Penn did not care what the religious society was denominated. In short he would rather the bill should not pass than suffer the words "Presbyterian congregation" to remain.

Mr. Findley wished to comply with the desire of the inhabitants; therefore, if the bill was published as amended, the House could hereafter ascertain whether it was agreeable or no. Not that he had the least doubt of what the gentleman had advanced, for, as he (Mr. Brackenridge) resided at that place, he surely was best able to speak the sense of the people.

Here an inquiry as to how this bill came on the files of the House

took place, and it appeared it was brought forward from the files of the former House, where it had one reading, which being improper, Mr. Brackenridge took it back and desired leave to present it; then it was read a first time, and ordered to lie on the table; but, first, Mr. Brackenridge made the alterations he had proposed of styling it the Religious Christian Society, at this time under the pastoral care of the Rev. Samuel Barr, at Pittsburgh.

On Thursday, the 14th, the bill was read the second time and debated by paragraphs.

Ordered that it be transcribed, and in the meantime printed for public consideration.

In the Assembly, on the 21st of September, 1787, "The bill entitled 'An Act to Incorporate a Religious Christian Society of the Town of Pittsburgh, in the county of Westmoreland, at this time under the care of the Rev. Samuel Barr.'" Read the second time December 15th last, was read the third time, and the several paragraphs fully debated.

It was then moved by Mr. Findley, and seconded by Mr. Whitehill, to strike out from the title of the said bill the words "a Religious Christian Society," and in lieu thereof to insert "The Presbyterian Congregation," and on the question, will the House agree to the proposed amendment? it was carried in the affirmative.

Ordered that the bill be engrossed, for the purpose of being enacted into a law.

The bill passed finally on the 29th of September, 1787, with the title, "An Act to Incorporate the Presbyterian Congregation of the Town of Pittsburgh and the vicinity thereof, in the County of Westmoreland."

On the 24th of the same month, the trustees received a patent from "John Penn, Jr., and John Penn, of the city of Philadelphia, and late proprietors of Pennsylvania, for two lots in Wood's plan, being lots 438 and 439 and half of lot 437 (the remainder of which is conveyed for the use of the Episcopal Church), for the nominal consideration of five shillings, as well as of the laudable inclination which they have for encouraging and promoting morality, piety, and religion in general, and more especially in the town of Pittsburgh."

The lot No. 440, fronting on Wood Street, from Sixth Street to Virgin Alley, was not included in the gift of the Penns; it was pa-

tented in December, 1787, by the Rev. Samuel Barr, and the title vested in the trustees in 1802.

The first building, "a church of squared timber and moderate dimensions," was erected in the summer of 1786. It was the first built in Pittsburgh, and the only one for about sixteen years.

The leading man and "main pillar" of this church for many years from the beginning was one of the oldest and best citizens of the State, John Wilkins, Sr. He was born June 1, 1733, in Donegal township, Lancaster county, where he was (as he afterwards wrote) educated in the principles of the Presbyterian Church. He removed to Carlisle in 1763, and was a member of the church there. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was among the first captains in the State to organize a company of militia. Residing temporarily in Bedford county, he was there elected a member of the convention to form a State Constitution. He was commissioned captain in the Continental army in 1776, by Washington, and enlisted and furnished a company at his own expense. He was in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. After leaving the army he farmed and kept a tavern and store at Carlisle, where he lost large sums by the great depreciation of Continental money. He removed to Pittsburgh, in November, 1783, with a stock of goods, and opened a store on the lot at the northeast corner of Fourth and Wood Streets, where he built a dwelling-house and resided until his death (on December 11th, 1809). When he came to Pittsburgh—as he long afterwards wrote—there was no church, market, or borough organization, of all of which he urged the necessity. "A Presbyterian congregation soon organized, George Wallace and myself appointed to collect subscriptions and superintend the building. He left it nearly all to me. I worked at it with my own hands, and with assistants chunked and daubed it. I settled with the trustees October 23d, 1793." Mr. Wilkins was one of the first elders of the church. He was appointed Associate Justice of the Common Pleas at the organization of the county, Chief Burgess of the borough of Pittsburgh, Commissioner of Public Buildings, and County Treasurer from 1794 to 1803.

The second building was of brick. It was completed in 1805, as will be seen by the following advertisement in October of that year:

"The Trustees of the Presbyterian congregation of Pittsburgh will attend at the new meeting house, on Monday, the 28th inst., to let the pews.—JOHN WILKINS, President."

A considerable debt encumbering the church, resort was had to a measure common at that time, but long since abandoned, of raising money by lottery. An act of Assembly was passed, and the following notice was published:

"BY AUTHORITY.

"Scheme of a lottery for raising the sum of three thousand dollars, for defraying the expense of furnishing the Presbyterian church, in the borough of Pittsburgh: $1,500 in prizes; 1,213 prizes; 1,787 blanks, less than a blank to a prize; $5 a ticket. Prizes thirty days after drawing; if not demanded within twelve months, considered relinquished to the church. One prize of $800, the highest, and one thousand prizes of $6, the lowest. (Only part of the advertisement.)

JOHN WILKINS,
JOHN JOHNSTON,
WILLIAM PORTER, } Managers.

"Notice—Owing to John Wilkins' indisposition, the Presbyterian Church Lottery is postponed until the first Monday of November next.

"The Commissioners commenced drawing the Presbyterian Church Lottery on the 2d of this month, and continued three days, when the following prizes were drawn: No. 43, $500. The highest prize is yet in the wheel—1 of $800—so the wheel is rich. The Commissioners will draw on Thursday next, at nine o'clock in the morning, in the grand jury room in the court-house. Tickets may be had of the Commissioners. John Wilkins, John Johnston, Commissioners.

"SECOND CLASS SCHEME OF A LOTTERY

in raising part of the sum of $3,000, for defraying the expenses of furnishing the Presbyterian Church in the borough of Pittsburgh: 1 prize of $1,000, 1 of $500, 3 of $250, 2 of $200, 10 of $100, 11 of $50, 3 of $20. The prizes to be paid within the time limited by law; those not demanded within twelve months considered relinquished to the church.

"Tickets to be had of the managers, at the different printing offices, and of the following persons:

"Isaac Craig, James O'Hara, James Riddle, John Irwin (merchant), James Gibson, Steele Semple, Philip Gilland, Thos. Baird, Wm. Anderson, Wm. Steele, Wm. McCullough, E. Denny, Boyle Irwin, Jas. Irwin, Alex. McLaughlin, John Darragh, Esq., Jas. B. Clow, Wm. Wilkins, Alex. Johnston, James Adams, Robert Spencer, Andrew Willock, George Robinson, Esq., Wm. McCandless, Esq., Robert Knox, James Robinson, Esq., William Woods, Esq., John Finley, James Sample, Esq., George Sutton, Henry Fulton, Alex. Hill, Jacob Negley, John Fulton, Jacob Beltzhoover, William Graham, Peter Mowry, Thomas Jones."

The following is an exact copy of one of the tickets:

CHURCH LOTTERY.

No. 2,155.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH LOTTERY.

NO. 2,155 AUTHORIZED BY LAW.

This Ticket will entitle the possessor to such prizes as shall be drawn to its number, if demanded within twelve months after the drawing, subject to twenty per cent. deduction.

Pittsburgh, June 3, 1807.

JNO. WILKINS.

President of the Board of Managers.

NOTE.—Many acts of Assembly were passed in the first quarter of the present century, authorizing lotteries to raise money in aid of churches, school houses, turnpike roads, bridges, etc., throughout the State.

ADDENDUM.

Pittsburghers especially will appreciate the curious and interesting information which Mr. Darlington has given in the foregoing article concerning the early history of their city; but the members of the First Presbyterian Church will not be proud of this record, so far as the story of the *lottery* is concerned. But such, unhappily, is the truth of history. And, as further illustrative of the low state of religion in the town of Pittsburgh in those early days, and of the good work accomplished there by the Rev. Francis Herron, D.D., it is thought proper to add here the following facts, as given in Dr. Paxton's Memorial Discourse.

Francis Herron

Dr. Herron took charge of this church in May, 1811. "The church was found to be in an almost hopeless state of pecuniary embarrassment; but far worse than this, religion, by a large portion of the people, was utterly discarded, and with many of its professors had little more than the semblance of form." In order to remedy the latter evil, one of the measures adopted by the (then) young pastor was the organization of a *prayer-meeting*. "But in this he met with discouragement, even from the best of his people, and open and determined hostility from others. It was altogether a novelty, an outgrowth, they said, of fanaticism, Methodism, etc. Fathers and husbands prohibited their wives and daughters from attending." "For eighteen months, with the assistance of Rev. Thomas Hunt, the pastor of the Second Church, the meeting was continued, with an attendance of one solitary man, six females, and the two pastors. The two church sessions could furnish but one praying elder." "Finally, Dr. Herron was waited upon and told that this extravagance could not be endured, and that a stop must be put to these meetings at once. To this he replied, with that imperial majesty so characteristic of the man: 'Gentlemen, these meetings will not stop. You are at liberty to do as you please; but I also have the liberty to worship God according to the dictates of my conscience, none daring to molest or make me afraid.' From that hour the opposition began to abate. The prayer-meeting gradually increased, and the cause of religion in this church began to prosper."

The pecuniary difficulties of the church became so great that at last the church building was sold by the sheriff. Dr. Herron bought it in in his own name; sold off a small portion of the property; paid off every debt and incumbrance upon the church; re-conveyed the residue of the ground to the congregation; and in July, 1814, three years from the commencement of his ministry, reported $180 of surplus money in the treasury. Let those who may be disposed to laugh over the lottery story set this over against it.

All these, together with many other interesting details of the early history of this church, will no doubt be given at length in the Historical Discourse which is in preparation, as we learn, by the present worthy pastor, Rev. S. F. Scovel, D.D.

A. W.

March, 1876.

PITTSBURGH LONG AGO.

(*From the Pittsburgh Evening Telegraph of Dec.* 11, 1875.)

An important portion of the people of this section are just now particularly interested in their ancestral history, in the circumstances and conditions which surrounded the pioneers of civilization in Western Pennsylvania. Interesting and instructive papers on the subject, prepared for the Memorial Convention now in session in Pittsburgh, have already appeared in the *Telegraph*. It occurs to us that readers may be pleased, through the eyes of an intelligent foreigner, to catch a few more glimpses of this western country, and especially of Pittsburgh, as they appeared nearly a hundred years ago.

John David Schoepf, M.D., was attached, in the quality of a military surgeon, to the German troops employed in America by the British in the war of the Revolution. During several years of the struggle he was stationed on Long Island and in New York, and on the return of peace, having obtained permission of his sovereign, he spent nearly two entire years in traveling through the United States. He was a learned naturalist as well as physician, and he possessed many other qualifications of a very good traveler. It is to be regretted that his travels have not been translated, a regret expressed by the *Nation* lately when noticing an essay by him on North American diseases, which an eminent Boston physician has recently translated and published.

Dr. Schoepf visited Pittsburgh in the summer of 1783, and he appears to have been the first person who ever crossed the mountains in a carriage. At any rate, he states that on arriving in the town, not himself, but his vehicle, was evidently the chief object of curiosity to the "many well dressed gentlemen and highly adorned ladies" whom he encountered at the tavern to which he was conducted. The reason, he says, was that to make the entire journey in a carriage (karriol he calls it) was a feat up to that time deemed as good as impossible. He adds that as he drove past lonely dwel-

lings in the wilderness, his karriol caused intense excitement among the inhabitants, mothers calling their children together to behold a thing they had never before seen. The most respectable tavern of Pittsburgh Dr. Schoepf describes as a small, crookedly built, wooden structure—a cabin, in fact—on the banks of the Monongahela, of which the outside promised very little, but he was reassured by the appearance of the aforesaid gentlemen and ladies.

The traveler confesses himself rather disappointed in his long westward journey by the absence of such sights as are usually expected in a mountainous country; no extraordinary natural phenomena, no waterfalls, no towering cliffs, no frightful abysses were seen. What seemed to him most noteworthy were the continuous, unbroken forest for the distance of two hundred and twenty miles from Carlisle, and the singular uniformity of the forest, the same kinds of trees and vegetation stretching along without interruption. Few birds were seen, and all wild animals were of course frightened out of view by the noise of the vehicle. He did see one young bear, which unexpectedly dropped, like a clod, from a tree by the roadside, and tumbled off into the woods as fast as it could go. He even saw no snakes, though occasionally hearing of the copperbelly and the moccasin.

The civil and political history of Pittsburgh to the time of his visit, Dr. Schoepf relates with entire accuracy, we believe, but to repeat any of his details, interesting as they are, would be carrying owls to Athens. His statement that the first stone house was built during the summer of his visit, and his confident prediction that many more good buildings must soon be in the place, as it was certainly destined to be a great and important town, may be worthy of mention. So, also, his statement that the village contained neither a house for public worship nor a house for the administration of justice. "There resides there, however," he adds, "a German preacher who ministers to all of the same faith; and once or twice every year the State of Pennsylvania sends thither a judge to administer justice."

Dr. Schoepf was not favorably impressed with the general character of the Pittsburghers. That they are poor, seems to him the proper result of their circumstances, but he asserts that they are also extremely lazy and inactive. Still worse, he states that they are dis-

satisfied when anybody offers them an opportunity by labor to earn money, for which, however, they are ravenously greedy (*heisshungrig*). It was, it seems, a universal complaint—the justice of which the German traveler verified by experience—that every insignificant article made or prepared here was much dearer than the same thing even in Philadelphia; that the people here did not seek to become rich through industry and moderate prices, but by extorting from strangers and travelers at once as much as possible, and that, because they disliked and shirked labor, they made any one soundly pay for it who presumed to interrupt their comfortable state of indolence. This repetition of the German doctor's hard saying is, perhaps, almost a repetition of the sin of Ham. But we may take some comfort in the recollection that the first Romans were not models of any of the fundamental virtues.

When Dr. Schoepf was here, some military companies, which had garrisoned the post during the war, were on the point of taking their departure, and great was the regret of the inhabitants. The trading classes regretted the withdrawal of customers who helped to feed them, while the hearts of the ladies were saddened by the departure of many fine gentlemen as the death-knell of many social amusements. As an interesting fact it is mentioned that, during the long war just ended, balls, games, concerts, and comedies had enlivened the society of a frontier village four hundred miles westward from the ocean.

This German physician's account of the birds, beasts, fishes, and creeping things of this section really seems exhaustive. His report of the coal beds is remarkable to have been written so long ago, and neither petroleum nor the salt springs escape his observation. As to the natural advantages of Pittsburgh as a mart of trade and industry, he saw into the future almost to the present day. But all such worthy topics we pass over merely to state that he became acquainted with the celebrated Colonel Killbuck and the hardly less celebrated Mistress Grenadier. Unfortunately the Colonel, having just returned from a hunting expedition, was refreshing himself during the entire seven days of the Doctor's sojourn, with a good *drunk*. Still he made himself agreeable, and exhibited with graceful pride certain letters which had been written by his son and daughter, who had been educated in Princeton at the expense of Congress. In Madame

Grenadier, elegantly lodged in the garden of the Fort, Dr. Schoepf clearly perceived traces of her former good looks.

Dr. Schoepf's travels were published at Erlangen in 1788.

THE

SECULAR HISTORY,

In its Connections with the Early

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH HISTORY,

OF

SOUTHWESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

AN ADDRESS

BY

JAMES VEECH.

THE SECULAR HISTORY &c.

IN coming, Mr. President, to the task assigned me on your programme, I cannot but feel some embarrassment. The prominent aim of this Convention is to commemorate men and events which are of the Church, churchly. Joining to it the discussion of secular topics, by a mere lay outsider, may to some seem an incongruity. And it would be so were it not that the line of separation, if it exist at all, between what is secular and what is religious, in our early history, is not of easy discernment. They blend and run together, and to attain a thorough knowledge of either demands a study of the other. This source of embarrassment, therefore, vanishes upon near approach.

But then, the subject to which I am called—"The Secular History of the Times we celebrate"—is of such huge proportions as to deter from any attempt to crowd it into the time and space to which I am entitled. The effort would be so procrustean as to result in, at best, but a meagre and mutilated outline. Volumes have been written upon it, and yet the half has not been told. The charm of local history is in details. Traditionary knowledge, and the too often distorted perspective of general history, but sharpen the avidity for more exact delineation. These old time memories have become quasi sacred, and must not be trussed up in cold generalities. The early years of "the times we celebrate" are clustered all over with events which are not merely of curious interest, but of transcendent importance. In them, and in their connecting antecedents, we must seek the foundations and builders of our social fabric; the fountains of our material, political, religious, and educational progress, whose

streams, like the great rivers whose sources are around us, have gone and are still going forth, to diffuse wealth, civilization, and Christianity, not only over our own great West, but to lands in the far-off Orient. We may safely say, if not in pride, yet surely not in the sadness of Æneas,

"Quæ regio in terris non nostri plena laboris!"

To free myself from presumption, and from the embarrassment which springs from the magnitude of the subject as given to me, I venture to tone it down into—Some Sketches of our *Secular History, in its connections with the early Presbyterian Church History of Southwestern Pennsylvania.*

These notices, desultory though they must necessarily be, will carry us back, for a while, beyond the century now under review. History has, in general terms, given to the people of this region of country a peculiar character, especially in its earlier developments,* and to its material and religious growths, a peculiar stability and sturdiness, which, if rightly given, must result, in great measure, from events and influences which precede their formation into a distinct community. And such things sometimes reverse the law of gravitation, and become, like the sun, more potent by recession. It becomes us, therefore, to inquire whether the character thus given be fact or flattery, and if fact, then what were the events and influences which combined to make it so, far off though they be. We will look after these first, because, if found, the verity of the character will be an easy deduction.

The first successful efforts to plant English colonies in North America were within twenty-five years after 1600. These were at the North and at the South, leaving the temperate latitudes for future occupancy. Cotemporaneous with these efforts was another scheme of colonization, conducted under the auspices of the same King, which has had a more salutary and enduring influence upon American character than any other—the colonization of Scotch in the

* "The great district of Pennsylvania for the development of the Scotch-Irish character, in its energies, enterprise, religious and moral principles, as well as its educational tendencies and usefulness, was Southwestern Pennsylvania."

"*A Tribute to the Irish and Scotch Early Settlers of Pennsylvania, by a Descendant*" (the late Judge Chambers, of Chambersburg), p. 131.

North of Ireland. For *us*, at least, no two classes of widely separated events could have been better timed. The colonists in Ulster and their descendants were, for about a century, trained in religious faith and in physical endurance before this country became ready for their reception; so that when they did come they were enabled to settle in controlling numbers just where they could best develop their character and growth, and from which they could diffuse themselves into other localities of strategic importance.

Much of now-a-days travel is in an organized form called *excursions*. Allow me to suggest one which would be eminently Presbyterian: Take the Pennsylvania railroad to Downingtown. There get your late co-presbyter, Mr. Collier, to send over to Westchester for the historian of Octorara, Mr. Futhey. With them in your party you will need no hand-book. Go down the Brandywine to Wilmington, thence to Havredegrace, at the mouth of the Susquehanna. From there, keeping some ten or twelve miles off the river, go up to York, and return by way of Columbia and Lancaster to the place of beginning. You will then have compassed, with considerable margin, the great *original nursery* of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; an area not greater than the counties of Allegheny and Washington, or Westmoreland.

I do not mean by designating these boundaries to fence out other localities, in which Presbyterianism was planted and is yet growing; for it is one of those plants "whose seed is in itself," and

> "Vital in every part,——
> Cannot but by annihilating die."

There are many such in all the States north of the Potomac, even in New England. But here in these contiguities of Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, is the nursery *par excellence*, where true, genuine, improved Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism found its most favored soil and culture. There its "bow still abides in strength," though perhaps with diminished elasticity. There its "branches have run over the wall," sending forth healthy, luxuriant shoots into the valleys of Pennsylvania and Virginia, among the mountains of the Carolinas and Tennessee; and eventually, as we shall see, into these once ends of the earth. How many Presbyterian churches there are in it I do not know. The great trouble in their early history was to keep their meeting-houses far enough

apart. In it were founded and long flourished, at least four schools of learning and divinity. In it were born, and trained or educated, some of the most eminent and useful men of the nation as statesmen, judges, governors, lawyers, physicians, and especially ministers of the gospel. Princeton College has drawn from it three of her presidents, Hampden-Sidney two, and Schenectady one. From it went forth Davies, the apostle of Presbyterianism and religious toleration in Virginia; Graham, the founder of the college at Lexington; Waddell, the "blind preacher," whom Wirt has mirrored in his "British Spy," and others of like spirit if not of equal fame. If to these we add nearly all the fathers of all the branches of the Presbyterian Church in Southwestern Pennsylvania—McMillan, Smith, Power, Dunlap, Finley, and Henderson—if a nursery which, in a single age, sent forth such an array of vigorous plants as these be not entitled to pre-eminence, in what can pre-eminence consist?

The planting of this nursery just there, and just when it came to be planted, are events with which our early history has close connections and similitudes. To trace these may carry us into paths of inquiry that are intricate and unfrequented, which, although they may seem dark at the entrance, will, we trust, have some light at the outcome.

Pennsylvania was granted to William Penn and his heirs by Charles II., March 4, 1681. Except Georgia it was the last of the Old Thirteen to derive a patent from the Crown, and the only one which had no ocean front. And yet, in climate, soils, woods, waters, water courses, healthfulness, and easy access from the sea, she got the best position in all the range of colonies. She was equally fortunate in having for her founder and fundamental lawgiver one who, whether from the inward light that was the basis of his faith, or from personal experience of the evils of intolerance, made freedom in the worship of God a pillar of his political fabric, and set it up so straight and strong as to inspire the confidence of all peoples in its security. She had a peculiarly mild and wholesome system of laws, and was without any of those grants of large bodies of land and inequalities of wealth and social rank which discouraged the rapid growth of many of the other Colonies. No other Colony could present such inducements to thift-loving, law abiding

immigrants, who were in search of good freehold farms and freedom in religion, and to none other did they come so freely.

Though a little out of place, it may save repetition here to note that in 1609 James I. of England gave to a company of Londoners a vast territorial grant, under which Virginia claims to be the mother of States. It had a front upon the Atlantic of four hundred miles, of which Old Point Comfort was the middle point—"and from the sea coast of the precinct aforesaid up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest"—thus, as Virginia afterwards claimed it, making a kind of truncated cone, widening westwardly on its northern confines, so as to sweep over Maryland, *this region* of country, the State of Ohio, and all west and northwest of it away up to 54° 40′. Had this patent been allowed to endure it would have been a serious obstacle to colonization. Happily it was, in 1624, at the instance of the Company, revoked and annulled; and although never restored, it was, as we will see after a while, made the pretext by Virginia for the most arrogant pretensions.

The grant of Maryland, in 1632, by Charles I. to Cecilius Calvert, hereditary Lord Baltimore, embraced an important part of the old Virginia grant; and, half a century afterwards, enabled Pennsylvania for a while to have a neighbor, who, however troublesome in other respects, harmonized in the principles of religious toleration which Virginia denied. Lord Baltimore's domain was to be from the Potomac, etc., northward, so as to include all that "lyeth under the 40th degree of northerly latitude from the equinoctial,"—meaning the belt between 39° and 40°, which, as things now are, would have reached north of the old city of Philadelphia. Longitudinally it was to extend from the Delaware Bay to the "meridian of the first fountain" of the Potomac; which covered what is now the little State of Delaware. So that had this grant been allowed to become effectual according to its letter, it would have put all our nursery into Maryland, where very soon religious toleration become a mockery.

Penn's southern boundary was to be a circular line from the Delaware, "drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle northward and westward unto the beginning [? 39° or 40°] of the fortieth degree of northern latitude, and then by a straight line westward" to the limits of five degrees of longitude from the Delaware.

By reason of an alleged misplacement of the ideal line 40° some nineteen miles too far to the south on the only authoritative map of those parts (Captain John Smith's) extant at the dates of the charters to Lord Baltimore and Penn, and the impossibility of a circle of twelve miles radius from New Castle drawn northward and westward touching 39°, the southern beginning of the 40th degree, or 40° its northern beginning, unless by recognizing the alleged misplacement, the heirs of William Penn, after a long and angry controversy with the Lords Baltimore, running from 1682 to 1732, were enabled to get an agreement fixing the southern boundary of their province on an east and west line fifteen miles south of Cedar or South Street, Philadelphia; and in this way that much of our nursery was saved.

By another misplacement of a line, another part was saved, until the plants had taken such deep root as not to be easily eradicated. The mouth of Octorara creek is several miles south of the north line of Maryland; but in 1682–3, soon after Penn and Lord Baltimore had had a friendly conference about their bounds, the latter caused a well-marked line to be run from the Susquehanna at the mouth of that creek, bearing a little north of east, clear through to the Delaware. This was of course taken for the intended boundary between the provinces; and some thirty or forty years afterwards an extensive settlement under Pennsylvania, called Nottingham, was pushed down to that line. When, under agreements entered into first in 1732, and finally in 1760, the disputes were settled and the line came to be truly defined, it was found to run through this settlement, throwing one part of it into Cecil county, Maryland, and the other into Chester county, Pennsylvania. The settlers were, however, allowed to remain; and so the Maryland part of our nursery was saved. But this was not all of it.

The grant of Maryland was upon condition that its lands had not before been settled by any Christian people—*hactenus terra inculta*. Some Swedes and Fins had, about 1628, set up the short-lived colony of Swaanendael on the western shore of the Delaware Bay. They had been conquered by the Dutch of New Netherlands, whose principal domain was upon Manhattan and the Hudson; and they had been in turn conquered by the English. Thereupon the Delaware Bay territory became an appendage to the province of New

York, which Charles II. had granted to his brother the Duke of York. By this process the Duke, afterwards James II., claimed to override the right of Lord Baltimore to the western bay shore of the Delaware. Penn, being the fast friend of James, and anxious to obtain a good outlet for his "too backward lying province," in 1682 bought out the Duke's claim, and eventually, by favor more than right, became proprietary of the "three lower counties;" and he and his heirs held them through long years of contention and jealousies until they got their limits established, and then they set up for themselves. In this way the residue, or Delaware part, of our nursery was rescued from a colony which had soon to succumb to religious intolerance. It became a very important part: it held the gateway. For a long time more immigrants from Ireland landed at New Castle than at Philadelphia.

He who does not see the hand of a Higher Power in working out these results from the blunders and ambiguities of these old colonial charters, must be afflicted with a mental cataract which no human surgery can remove.

It is claimed for the Plain of Shinar, upon which, for the purposes of concentration, men began to build after the flood, that in all Asia no more favorable locality could have been found from which to disperse mankind over the earth. And it has, I believe, come to be a recognized fact in natural history that plants and the lower animals have had several distinct centres of creation and dissemination. The world is full of analogies. Here, in these contiguous corners of three colonies, we find not only *a* centre of one of the most vigorous, stable, and aggressive systems of religious faith and polity that has ever blessed mankind, but *the* centre from which nearly if not quite all the other centres of that faith on the continent have been derived. Take a map of the Atlantic slope, and nowhere upon it, in the range of the old British-American colonies, can we find a locality possessing equal advantages of access, of protection and growth, and of egress and diffusion into all the regions round it, north and east, but especially south and west. It was central but not confined, inland but not interior; with a soil and climate which encouraged labor, fitted for products and pursuits suited to the very people who were wanted to occupy it, and adapted every way to physical, intellectual, and religious development. Not only was it the right place

for the right men, but it was made ready for them at the right time. Had the Scotch-Irish emigrants who embarked on the "Eagle Wing" in 1636 been permitted to consummate their voyage, they would have been compelled to settle on the cold, inhospitable hills of New England, or the enervating, uncongenial lowlands of Carolina, only to become absorbed in the surrounding population, or, like the Scotch on the Cape Fear, become dwarfed by intolerance and barren inactivity. They would have left Ulster to become the blighted region that it was before their advent thither, and before it had become sufficiently populous to sustain its future emigrations; and, more than all, before, by revivals in their religion, by galling exactions and persecutions, and by repeated expulsions from it and the mother country, their descendants and countrymen had become fully qualified to found, in the New World, a church without a bishop, and commonwealths without a king.

It was not until 1717, the era of the formation of the old parent Synod of Philadelphia, some thirty-five years after the foundation of Pennsylvania, that the Scotch-Irish began in any considerable numbers to come to America. Although up to this time a very large, if not controlling, number of the ministry of the American Presbyterian Church were from Scotland and Ireland, it would seem that their constituency were not in the same proportion.

The first great migration from Ulster to Pennsylvania—and it was to Pennsylvania that nearly all the emigrants came prior to the Revolution—was from about 1717 to 1750. At this time, under the benign sway of the Toleration Act of 1689, religious persecutions in Great Britain had ceased, or at least had become tempered down into annoying hindrances and exactions. But the long leases which landholders had granted upon the original colonization had expired, and they took advantage of the prosperity which had attended the labors of the colonists and their descendants to advance the rents to such high figures as to be ruinous to many of the tenantry, and burdensome to all. Having heard of the better land across the sea, where they could be their own landlords, where tithes were unknown and taxes light, they at once determined to seek new homes there. And thither they went.

James Logan, the secretary and chief counsellor of the Proprietary Government for many years after 1701, an Irish Quaker, wrote

in 1729: "It looks as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither, for last week not less than six ships arrived, and every day two or three arrive also. The common fear is that if they continue to come they will make themselves proprietors of the province." Mr. Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, says that up to 1729 six thousand Scotch-Irish had come, and that for several years prior to 1750 about twelve thousand arrived annually. In September, 1736, one thousand families sailed for the Delaware from Belfast alone.

At this rate it would not have taken long to fill up the *nursery*. But they did not all settle there. Some went north into Bucks county, some into New York and New Jersey; but until it became pretty well filled very many took their abodes in the old plantations, either as additions, or in the places of others who moved further to the front of civilization, up the Susquehanna into Donegal and Paxton, or over it into the Kittatinny valley, or through it and over the Potomac into the valley of Virginia. Many moved directly into those localities after a brief sojourn among their friends, and after having taken counsel from them as to the ways of wilderness life.

The Scotch-Irish, like emigrants of every nationality from the Fatherland, did not seek to scatter themselves loosely over settled communities. They moved compactly, and settled in colonies sufficiently numerous to be self-sustaining, and to be able, in due time, to secure a minister and school, wherever there were large bodies of good land to be had "for taking up." This policy or propensity of their own harmonized with the policy of the Quaker government. Although they could be friendly, they could not fraternize with the Quakers. Nor could they at all affiliate with the Germans and "Palatine boors," who were constantly crowding upon them. Moreover, they had no love for the Indian, and were not averse to a fight with him "or any other man" upon just provocation. Hence it became a peculiarity of their very being to be always pushing for the front lines of conflict with the wilderness and the savage. But although they had no love for the Indian "as such," they respected his rights, and almost inviolably obeyed the requirements of the Proprietors not to settle upon his hunting grounds before being purchased, or without permission. Nor did they often, in their inceptive settlements, go to the land office for

titles. When upbraided for this "squatter" habit, their reply was: "The Proprietaries and their agents solicited colonists to come freely, and we have come accordingly. We are improving your lands, and when we come to ask for our titles we will pay for them." But they were generally careful to see a fair prospect for a good title before they expended much of either labor or money. In this respect, however, they were never wronged, unless from their own obstinate neglect.

As not all who were within the lines of the Nursery were Scotch-Irish, so neither were all who were of that nationality there and elsewhere good Presbyterians. Predominantly they were. Some of them only leaned that way, while, perhaps, there were some who had no very decided religious leanings of any kind. But all of them, except the most depraved, had a respect for the institutions and ministers of religion; and were imbued with a peculiar spirit of combativeness, which fitted them for being pioneers in every aggressive movement, material, political, and religious. To this spirit, undefinable by any other standard than itself, is to be ascribed much of their success, even in sanctified effort.

Historians of the Presbyterian branches of the Church in America, generally begin their narratives with a relation of the trials and trainings of the forefathers in Scotland and in the North of Ireland. For me to do so in this presence would be an unpardonable invasion of a province with which you are all familiar, and to which I could add nothing new. I may, however, so far trespass as to say, that the class of people to whom we give the appellative Scotch-Irish, are very different from the Irish, who during these many years past have crowded our ports, and swarm in all our cities. Neither are they Scotch, nor a cross of the two races. Not a drop of Celtic or Milesian blood lurks in their veins. They are as distinct to-day as they were two hundred and fifty years ago; having maintained their Scotch lineage unalloyed, save only perhaps by occasional intermixtures of English blood taken from part of the remains of Cromwell's army, who took refuge in Coleraine and elsewhere, in the North of Ireland, upon the overthrow of the Commonwealth. As a race, they are only denizens of Ireland, to which they were transplanted from Scotland, and where most of them can yet find their kindred, and the graves of a common ancestry. And

yet by long residence and habitude they may be considered as indigenous to the nine counties of the old province of Ulster—Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, and Tyrone; names, the most of which are as familiar to Pennsylvanians as Washington and Franklin. Although their religious and educational trainings closely resemble those of the Scotch, and always have done so, yet they differ in their predominant pursuits and aspirations. Generally the Scotchman is content with the stinted subsistence of his heaths and braes; the Scotch-Irishman is for ever grasping at or hoping for something better. Moreover, the early Scotch colonists of Ireland were select stock. Many of them though not lords were lairds, and all of them were men of grit and enterprise, and above the average in intelligence. They went there to better their condition, and all their history and that of their descendants shows that whenever they cannot accomplish that they leave. In many respects they have come to differ widely from the parent stock. How it has been in their religious bearings, I will not undertake to speak; but politically they have been often antipodal. The last of the Kings of the house of Stuart fixed his last hopes on Scotland, while Derry and the Boyne extinguished them for ever. Our Revolutionary annals disclose no instance of a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian Tory; whilst everywhere, especially in the South, a distinctive Scotch settlement abounded in Tories. We may, therefore, safely consider the Scotch-Irish as a race of improved Scotch. Nor should we receive this as a doubtful truism. We know that cereals, fruits, and domestic animals, are often greatly improved by slight changes of place and surroundings; and why not men? Transfer the thrift-loving but penury bound inhabitants of our rugged hills or crowded streets to the rich prairies or fast growing towns of the West, and they or their sons rise to places of honor and influence, or come back to us members of Congress or doctors of divinity. Individuals often become great, or greatly good by opportunity—by the providential opening of avenues through which they march to eminence. Many have lain down in "cold obstruction," who might have become leaders in the onward progress of humanity, but

"Their lot forbade."

And so of communities, or aggregations of men. Had the Scotch colonists of Ireland remained at home, they probably would have

made no distinguishing impression upon their social surroundings, but upon their translation to Ulster, they found a land of high susceptibilities, blasted and barren by wars, and by the ignorance and indolence of a degraded peasantry made such by a degrading religious superstition, with which they were obliged to be in contact and in antagonism. They went to work to restore the land to fruitfulness, and to prove the superiority of the Protestant faith. In accomplishing these purposes, they developed energies of which they would otherwise have remained unconscious, and their aims grew higher and of wider range.

Upon coming to the wilds of America, they found themselves in a wholly new and greatly enlarged sphere, without any of the clogs and discouragements which beset them in the old country. Everything beckoned them to increased exertion. Their prospects expanded, and their powers expanded with them. No other class of colonists grew so rapidly or so vigorously, because none others so readily and tenaciously adapted themselves to the perils and privations of a new country. Ever advancing, never receding, as soon as the great valley of the West was open to settlement they entered it, fearless of the difficulties and dangers which confronted them. And this brings us to inquire why and how they came into this region of country; what, if any, were the peculiarities of this advance position, and what influence these had in developing the character and accomplishing the results to which they here attained. These inquiries will call us off to events somewhat remote in time, but nearer home than those which have hitherto engaged our attention.

Cupidity led the way in the controversy for dominion over Western Pennsylvania and its contiguities, which sprung up about the middle of the last century. It began in a struggle for the Indian trade, which, for about half a century before the war of the Revolution, was the great business of all the colonies south of New England; founding families and fortunes, and demanding for its conduct men of intelligence and energy, as well as of hardihood and cunning. Most of the Indians found here at the inception of the strife had come last, and not very remotely, from the borders of the Lehigh and the branches of the Susquehanna. They were the remnants of once powerful tribes. Trade with them was of some value; but their favor and friendship was of the greatest importance, be-

cause they possessed the approaches to the territory northwest of the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers, which was the great field of traffic. For this the French had long contended, and with surpassing success, until, by the superior energies of indomitable Scotch-Irish Pennsylvanians, who sold cheaper and better goods, their supremacy was endangered. Philadelphia became the great mart of the trade, with depots of supplies at Lancaster, Harris's Ferry, Carlisle, Shippensburg, and the mouth of Conococheague. To divert this, if possible, southward, was the primary object of the old Ohio Company, a Virginia corporation of very ambitious pretensions; while the French saw that their only chance of turning it to Montreal was by crowding off all the English traders and claimants, upon the ground that they were intruders upon the domain of His Most Christian Majesty. In this way began the strife in which Washington rose and Braddock fell. It soon became a contest of races and religions. In espousing the quarrel, England unwittingly inaugurated a train of events which conduced to the Independence we are soon, for the hundredth time, to celebrate. For, not on Lexington Common, but up here in a mountain fastness in Fayette, and by Washington, was first

"Fired the shot heard round the world."*

The story is a familiar one, and I will not seek to rehearse it. I refer to it only to introduce such of its incidents and sequences as bear directly upon the inceptive settlement of Southwestern Pennsylvania.

There had for some time been lurking in the councils of Virginia a notion, fast ripening into a belief, that Pennsylvania's five degrees of longitude westward from the Delaware, were not long enough to reach over the mountains. But the Penn proprietaries, their deputy governors. and wary adviser, James Logan, persistently asserted that the "forks of the Ohio" was within the grant. On the other hand, when the Pennsylvania Assembly were asked to contribute to the expulsion of the French, they very incautiously expressed a doubt whether the alleged intrusion was upon their territory, and refused any contribution of men or money; basing their refusal, however, upon the ground that the Penns would not recognize their right to tax their manors and other unsold lands for that

* See Bancroft's Hist. U. S., IV., 118.

or any other purpose. Hence, Pennsylvania had no part in the disastrous expeditions of Washington and Braddock, in 1754 and 1755; but she came in at the final expulsion by Forbes, in 1758. This semi-abnegation of ownership was made an ingredient in the poisoned chalice which Virginia commended to the lips of Pennsylvania in after years.

The kind of people who found a new settlement—other things being indifferent—often depends upon its routes of approach. All history abounds in teachings to this effect. It was early seen that the "short route" across the mountains into the Ohio valley was from the mouth of Wills Creek (Cumberland, Md.), by a line nearly coincident with the old National Road, to the mouth of Redstone, or Brownsville, on the Monongahela. It was traced and used as a trader's path as early as 1748, if not sooner, and was greatly preferred to the Juniata route, even by Pennsylvania traders, who came up the valley to the mouth of the Conococheague, and thence up the river to Wills Creek. Washington, in a letter urging its adoption by Forbes' army, in 1758, thus briefly and truly gives its history: "The Ohio Company, in 1753, at a considerable expense, opened the road. In 1754, the troops whom I had the honor to command greatly repaired it as far as Gist's plantation; and in 1755 it was widened and completed by General Braddock to within six miles of Fort Duquesne." This road, however, diverged from the line of the National Road a little east of Laurel Hill, and bore off more northwardly; but a branch went from the top of the hill, and another from Gist's, at its foot, to Redstone.

Leading directly, by easy grades, no considerable curvature, several meadows and few river crossings, from the Potomac borders of Virginia and Maryland, and contiguous Pennsylvania, it became at once, at the close of Pontiac's War, a popular highway of trade and migration. A letter from Winchester, Va., April 30, 1765, says: "the frontier inhabitants of this Colony and Maryland are removing fast over the Allegheny mountains to settle and live there;" and during all the residue of that decade the current of emigration over it was unceasing, though not very strong. These Maryland and Virginia emigrants settled mostly in the Fayette part of what was then Cumberland county, between the mountains and the Monongahela; a few *in* the mountains at Turkey-foot; more, perhaps,

in the southern parts of Westmoreland; and some on the river borders of Greene and Washington. Characteristically they were rude, caring more for game and good lands which cost nothing than for any of the enjoyments of civilized life. Some of them, however, became good citizens, and their descendants are there yet. They all kept near this road and its connections, and the rivers. West of the Monongahela there was, for many more years, no road; and mainly for that reason, except near its bank, no whites settled.

Virginia early saw the importance of this road, and adopted it. In 1766 she gave £200 to repair it and connect it with her settlements on the South Branch of the Potomac and around Winchester, with a view to attract the Indian trade. The connection was made about half way between Cumberland and where Frostburgh now is. Washington travelled it to Pittsburgh in 1770; and by it came Dr. McMillan,* on his second tour to the West, in January, 1776. It was generally known as Braddock's road, but to distinguish it from the Pennsylvania road, which Forbes' army made, it was called the Virginia road.

The very first assertion of sway over these new settlers was one specially provocative of lasting disaffection. It was a cardinal rule of the Penn Proprietors to allow no intrusions by settlers upon lands of which they had not acquired the Indian title. And it is a noticeable feature in the progress of settlements in Pennsylvania, that they almost always preceded the proprietary purchases, and thereby often compelled them. The advance settlements just adverted to were interspersed with some Indians, chiefly of the Delaware tribe, who were claimed by the Six Nations to be their conquered vassals, and tenants by sufferance upon their hunting grounds. These lived at peace with the settlers, and uttered no complaint. Not so, however, with their lords paramount in New York, who were naturally imperious, conscious of their power, and fond of swaying their sceptre, though a barren one. Without any well defined ground of complaint, they contrive to impress the King's agents for Indian affairs, and through them the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, with the belief that unless the settlers were removed something terrible would hap-

* Although Doctor McMillan did not receive the honorary degree of D.D., from Jefferson College, until 1807, for convenience of designation I give him his title from the beginning.

pen. Forthwith the governors go to work to *proclaim* them away. Their warnings are unheeded, or answered only by increased migration. Thereupon military detachments are sent up from Fort Pitt to drive them away. The soldiers, being kindly treated, hurt nobody. They, perhaps, turned a few cabins inside out, but no sooner are they withdrawn than the settlers put all to rights again, and resume the *statu quo ante*. Some become alarmed and retire to their old homes, but finding their neighbors unharmed, they come back. This was in 1766–67. The running of Mason and Dixon's line in 1767 as far as to its second crossing of Dunkard creek, in now Greene county, indicated that all these intruders were within Pennsylvania; and Governor Fauquier of Virginia, glad to escape from his unpleasant position, did not gainsay it: so he left the Penn powers to fight it out as best they could. Governor Penn, in January, 1768, called the special attention of his Assembly to the subject, saying their removal was indispensable to avert a war. The Assembly was as badly frightened as was the Governor, whereupon, Feb. 3, 1768, they pass a law by which, after reciting that "many *disorderly people* (. . . .) have presumed to settle upon lands not yet purchased from the Indians, to their damage and great dissatisfaction, which may be attended with dangerous and fatal consequences to the peace of this province," it is enacted that if any settlers, after being required to remove themselves and families, by personal notice or proclamation sent to them, should not so remove within thirty days thereafter; or, if after having removed they should return; or, if any should settle after such notice, every such person, "being thereof legally convicted by their own confession or the verdict of a jury, shall *suffer death*, without benefit of clergy."

Such a bloody law could only be a *brutem fulmen*, and irritate but not deter. To try its effect, Governor Penn sent out the Rev. Captain John Steele, of Carlisle, a Presbyterian, and three other citizens of Cumberland county, to visit the settlements, distribute proclamations embodying the law, and warn the settlers to quit. They go out early in March, by Braddock's road, and report to the Governor that they had done as commanded, had convened the settlers at Redstone and at Gist's, read the Proclamation, reasoned with them about it, and preached to them; but all to no purpose. While at Redstone [Brownsville] a deputation of Mingoes, from their town on

the Mingo bottom [below Steubenville] came to the meeting, and, after sermon, delivered some wampum and a speech, saying: "Ye are come, sent by your great men, to tell these people to go away from the land which ye say is ours; and we are sent by our great men, and we tell you the white people must stop, and we stop them till the treaty." The "treaty" in prospect came off at Fort Pitt in April and May, 1768—between 1,000 and 2,000 Indians there, of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawnees, and other tribes—sundry talks, belts, and wampums—£1,000 in presents distributed; but the only complaints were by the Pennsylvania Commissioners *against* the Indians, for selling their lands to the settlers, and the interference of the Mingo delegation at Redstone. And when they asked the Mingo chiefs to join in a deputation to warn off the settlers, they declined the task, the old Seneca chief Guyasutha saying, in substance, "You will soon buy our lands, and these people will be our neighbors, and we don't want to offend them." And so ended the "treaty," and the settlers did not go, nor did any of them "suffer death without benefit of clergy." The old chief saw that "coming events cast their shadows before," for in the ensuing autumn a great "treaty" was had at Fort Stanwix (Rome, N. Y.), at which, for £10,000, the Penns bought from the Six Nations all the before unbought portions of the province except that which was north and west of the Allegheny and Ohio, and Conewango creek, the outlet of Lake Chatauqua.

It is inferred that up to 1768 no considerable settlements were made in Southwestern Pennsylvania other than those in Fayette and its borders, for none others were complained of. Mr. Steele estimated their numbers at a hundred and fifty families, which would not exceed eight hundred souls. This estimate, however, was exclusive of George Croghan's settlement up here on the Allegheny, above the cemetery, and settlers under "military permits" at and around Forts Pitt and Burd, and perhaps Ligonier, and along the roads leading thereto. These all would not add more than two or three hundred to the population.*

* The statement by Smollett, in his History of England, that the erection of Fort Pitt, etc., in 1759-60, "gave perfect security to about *four thousand settlers*, who now returned to the quiet possession of the lands from which they had been driven," is sometimes quoted as evidence

On the 3d of April, 1769, the Penn proprietaries opened their land office in Philadelphia, for acquiring titles to lands in the "New Purchase." Within the first month there were 3,200 applications, many of which were by speculators. For four or five years, however, the waves of immigration rolled in steadily, with ever-increasing volume, bringing *the people* who gave to this region a character which it has never lost, though materially modified by changes of industries and the consequent influx of populations unknown to the fathers.

Up until 1771 the settlers were left to the freedom of their own will, uninfluenced except by the Indians and traders, and the agents and feeble garrisons whom the King kept here to control them—no taxes, no courts, no ministers of the law,* nor of the Gospel, outside of Fort Pitt, except when sent here on some special mission, as were the Rev. Messrs. Beatty and Duffield in 1766, and Mr. Steele in 1768.

About twenty-one years elapsed between the erection of the county of Lancaster (1729) and the counties of York (1749) and Cumberland (1750). A like period run before the erection of Bedford —the ninth of the series. The secret of this slowness has been attributed to the wish to retain political power in the three old Quaker counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester, each of which, by the frame of government, had eight members of Assembly, while to each new county was conceded but two or three. Be this as it may, the increased and increasing ultramontane population demanded a closer approach of the civil power than Carlisle.

On the 9th of March, 1771, Bedford county was set up over all

of the population, at that date, of the region around Pittsburgh. Admitting that Smollett knew what he was writing about, and had some reliable data for the statement—all of which is very questionable—the context shows that his 4,000 settlers covered the entire frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, which did not then extend west of the mountains. See Appendix, No. 3.

* Strictly this statement is not quite correct. In May, 1770, some ten months before the erection of Bedford county, Arthur St. Clair, William Crawford, Thomas Gist, and Dorsey Pentecost—all historic names—were among the Justices of the Peace appointed for Cumberland county. But they have left no trace of any exercise of their official functions until after their re-appointment for Bedford county, in March, 1771, and again (except Pentecost), for Westmoreland, in 1773.

of Southwestern Pennsylvania. The Act erecting it recognized Mason and Dixon's line, including its prolongation beyond Maryland as its southern boundary, but made no provision for a western one; nor, except on the north and east borders of Greene, and in the immediate western contiguities of Pittsburgh, did it ever attempt to reach beyond the Monongahela, for reasons which we will presently see. With the seat of justice a hundred miles away among the mountains, its influence was necessarily feeble, its arms weak. It was, however, subdivided into townships, a few justices of the peace resident west of the mountains appointed, some roads laid out, and taxes assessed. Many shunned its embraces. I know not how it operated elsewhere than up in Fayette, among the "disorderly" settlers. There it was fiercely repelled. Justices of the peace were contemned, deputy sheriffs beaten off, and combinations entered into to resist the laws. Even official surveys slackened, and settlers squatted without right. This state of things sprang from inherent antipathies, fostered by demagogues and festered by the "bloody law;" and was based upon the uncertainty whether the resistants were in Pennsylvania or Virginia. "When the *back line* comes to be run," they said, "if we are in Pennsylvania we will submit." But they were not particularly anxious to have it run. It must, however, be said that not all were of this way of thinking; for there were not wanting those who were desirous to live under regular government, of which they could then have none other than that of Pennsylvania.

Superadded to the causes of attachment and antipathy already noted, there was another of most potent efficacy in favor of Virginia. This was in the great disparity between the two colonies in the prices of lands. The Penns sold at £5 sterling per hundred acres, while the Virginia rate was only ten shillings. Without any present payment a settler could, under either colony, acquire an inceptive or preemption right by improvement, cultivation, and actual residence; and the fact that this right extended to four hundred acres, if properly designated, and there was no interference of a prior like claim, or official grant, or survey duly returned, enabled the settler to postpone his election under which colony he would claim until he would come to pay for and perfect his title. For this an indefinite indulgence was allowed. In this way many of the

choicest lands in Southwestern Pennsylvania, on both sides of the Monongahela, were long held, some, perhaps, to this day. It will readily be seen how this state of things presented to men a temptation, upon any plausible pretext, to change their allegiance, or, at least, to hold it in abeyance.

The Bedford county machinery worked badly. The *power* was too far from the weight of population. After less than two years of trial, on February 23d, 1773, Westmoreland county was erected, the last of the ante-Revolution counties. It covered all of what was Bedford west of the lines of Cambria and Somerset, and is a mother of counties. It undertook no definition of its southern or western boundary other than "as far as the province extended." Its seat of justice was fixed temporarily at the "house of Robert Hanna," where, enlarged to Hannastown, some three miles north of Greensburgh, it remained, until the town was burnt by the Indians and Tories, in July, 1782. The only other visible change which it wrought was a further subdivision of its territory into townships, some more roads, and an increase of officers and taxes, thereby bringing the restraints and burdens of government into more close contact with the people. This produced some friction, but so far as any evidence has come down to us, the average aspect of society for a while indicated order, contentment, and prosperity. The baleful colonial policy of England was fast engendering the tempest of revolution all over our Atlantic coasts, but as yet its mutterings were scarcely heard across the mountains. Secretly, but surely, a revolt of another kind, the elements of which had been long gathering, was now being matured, and ere the new county of Westmoreland was a year old, it suddenly burst forth upon Pittsburgh and its surroundings, and rapidly spread into all the settlements upon the Monongahela and Youghiogheny.

The controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia for the ownership of this region of country has in it too many complications to be here unfolded. That controversy was inevitable, and some of the grounds of it have been already foreshadowed. In the sequel we can only point to such of its prominent elements and results as bear directly upon the aim we are seeking to give to our subject.

William Penn is said to have himself drafted his charter for Pennsylvania. If so, he was a much better law-giver than scrivener.

Besides the ambiguity as to his southern limit, he left the mode of ascertaining his western boundary in great uncertainty. All that was said about it was that it was to be five degrees of longitude from the Delaware, his eastern bounds. This compelled those upon whom his title devolved to claim that it should be run at the distance of five degrees of longitude from the Delaware *at every point*, so as to make a curvilinear line over hills and rivers of almost impossible demarcation.

Mason and Dixon's line, when originally established, was only for a boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland. Virginia was in no wise a party to it. It was run by actual measurement upon the ground, with every successive mile marked by posts. Its prolongation, in 1767, beyond the "meridian of the first fountain" of the Potomac, not then ascertained, and beyond the Monongahela, enabled the Penns, by some *ex parte* surveys and computations, to conclude that, for a while, and as far as it went, the Monongahela would serve pretty well for a temporary boundary. Upon their interpretation of the charter, it would, south of Pittsburgh, be a very fair compromise line. It would surrender more territory than would be acquired, as any one can see by tracing a line parallel with the Delaware upon a good map, running northwardly from the southwest corner of the State, which is distant five degrees of longitude from the Delaware, in that latitude.

The width of a degree of longitude varies according to the latitudes it crosses, widest at the equator, contracting towards the poles. Mason and Dixon made it, in the latitude of their line (39° 43′ 26″) to be 53 miles and 167 1-10 perches. Unless they had greatly erred, the Penns were right in claiming that Pittsburgh, the great bone of contention—the gateway to the west—was at least five or six miles within their grant. And beyond all doubt the southeast triangular half of what is now Greene county was within it, while, on the other hand, it would throw out a very considerable portion of the Forks of Yough, and make sad havoc, ultimately, of all the border counties north of the Ohio. Hence, at the first opening of the land office, in 1769, for the "new purchase" of 1768, and for some two or three years after, the Proprietaries did not hesitate to grant rights to lands in that triangle, and may probably have granted some on Saw-Mill Run and the lower valley of Chartiers. Upon the erec-

tion of Bedford county, the people of Greene were included in the taxables for Springhill township, the body of which was in Fayette, but I cannot find that there were any residents across the river from Pittsburgh subjected to taxation. Nor is it believed that at any time prior to the adjustment of the dispute, and to the erection of Washington county, in 1781, any taxes had been collected, or any serious attempt made to exercise jurisdiction west of the Monongahela. This abstinence added to the readily accepted belief that in no event could Pennsylvania extend beyond that natural boundary. But, up to that river, in its whole extent below the crossing of Mason and Dixon's line, even in that part of the Forks of Yough which the parallel line would exclude, jurisdiction was claimed and exercised. No doubt there were knowing ones who knew this, and being a populous and valuable region, it was natural that some disaffection should exist there.

There was still another source of disaffection west of the Monongahela and Ohio, over from Pittsburgh. George Croghan, the Deputy Indian Agent-General, resident near Fort Pitt, a man of energy and influence, had procured from the Indians at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, a grant of some 200,000 acres westward from those rivers, and above Raccoon, provided it should not fall within Pennsylvania. It was then, and for many years afterwards, an accepted belief that such sales conferred a valid title. He proceeded, about 1771, to lay off his grant, or part of it, between Raccoon and Pigeon Creek, extending into the interior ten or fifteen miles. He had a back line run, which is, perhaps yet known as Croghan's line, and was trying to sell in lots of not less than ten thousand acres, at £5 per hundred.* This brought him and his retainers and dependents into conflict with the chartered rights of Pennsylvania in that direction.

Altogether, therefore, the Penn Proprietaries had a combination of perplexities and influences against them which nothing but stubborn right could resist; and the times were not yet auspicious for its predominance. It is no wonder, then, that they were willing, for the present, to make the Monongahela their boundary.

About the time these boundary troubles began, and while they

* Washington's Journal of 1770; Pennsylvania Archives, IV., 424-5.

were ripening into revolt, two very different classes of people had come into this region of country; and as they contributed, though in very diverse ways, to the stirring events which enter so largely into our history during the last quarter of the last century, they may now be introduced.

Almost from the first plantation of Virginia up to the outbreak of the Revolution, Great Britain had enforced the policy of sending over to the middle and southern American Colonies, from England, Scotland, and Ireland, many of the very worst and meanest convicted felons. James I. began it by ordering "dissolute persons to be sent to Virginia." In a statute of fourth George I. (1718), among the reasons assigned for this shameless policy was, that "in many of his Majesty's colonies and plantations there was a great want of *servants,* who, by their labor and industry, might be the means of *improving* and making the said colonies and plantations *more useful to his Majesty.*" "It was calculated that about the year 1750 not less than from three to four hundred felons were *annually* brought into Maryland."* Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania repeatedly passed laws in restraint of this influx of a vicious population; but they were disallowed by the King, in Council, as being derogatory to the supremacy of the Crown and Parliament. Of course, after being landed they had the run of the colonies. It is known that many of them were from the southern and western provinces of Ireland, some even from Ulster. Naturally, they would drift to the further shores of civilization, as far as possible beyond the reach of law, ready for participation in any tumults that might arise. Many of them are said to have congregated in and around Pittsburgh, and especially along the borders of the Monongahela and upper Ohio—hangers-on upon the Indian trade, or retainers of men who aimed at prominence around them. All of these went by the general name of Irish, and were too easily confounded with the better class of Scotch-Irish. We will see much of their power for mischief when we come to the Whiskey Insurrection; and they were specially conspicuous in the overt acts of outrage and violence which characterized the early stages of the Virginia usurpation.

* Pitkin's Hist. U. S., Vol. 1., 132; Judge Chambers' "Tribute," 35; Col. Rec. of Pa., V., 499, 550.

The other and better class were immigrants of Scotch-Irish lineage, who came as well from the North of Ireland directly as from the localities in which their countrymen had settled, conspicuously from *the nursery*, and parts which it had contributed to populate.

Between 1771 and 1773 occurred the *second* of the great migrations from Ulster, to which we have before adverted. "The cause of this second extensive emigration was somewhat similar to that of the first. It is well known that a great portion of the lands in Ireland are owned by a comparatively small number of proprietors, who rent them to the farming classes on long leases. In 1771, the leases on an estate in the County of Antrim—the property of the Marquis of Donegall—having expired, the rents were so largely advanced that many of the tenants could not comply with the demands, and were deprived of the farms they had occupied. This aroused a general spirit of resentment to the oppressions of the large landed proprietors, and an immediate and extensive emigration to America was the consequence. From 1771 to 1773 there sailed from the ports of the North of Ireland nearly one hundred vessels, carrying as many as twenty-five thousand passengers, all Presbyterians. This was shortly before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War; and these people, leaving the Old World in such a temper, became a powerful contribution to the cause of liberty, and to the separation of the colonies from the mother country.

"These Scotch-Irish emigrants landed principally at New Castle and Philadelphia, and found their way northward and westward into the eastern and middle counties of Pennsylvania. From thence one stream followed the great Cumberland Valley into Virginia and North Carolina, and from thence colonies passed into Kentucky and Tennessee. Another powerful body went into Western Pennsylvania, and settling on the head waters of the Ohio, became famous both in civil and ecclesiastical history, and have given to the region around Pittsburgh the name it so well deserves, of being the back-bone of Presbyterianism." *

Besides these emigrants direct from Ireland, great numbers came, as already stated, from *the nursery*; from Cecil county, Maryland;

* J. Smith Futhey's Historical Discourse at 150th Anniversary of Upper Octorara Presbyterian Church, September 14, 1870, page 34.

from Chester, Lancaster, and York counties, Pennsylvania; and from New Castle county, Delaware. Dr. McMillan, Mr. Smith, Mr. Power, Mr. Finley, and Mr. Henderson, all, when they came here, found themselves among old friends and acquaintances. It is a great mistake to suppose that they came here after the manner of missionaries of modern times; their people were here before them, waiting for them to come to gather them into folds and watch over them as good shepherds. Dr. McMillan's journal shows that wherever he went, as well on the east as on the west sides of the Monongahela, and up through the valley of Virginia, in his tours of 1775 and 1776, he found well-known faces and some relatives. It is said that during the period that intervened between Mr. Finley's first visit to the West and his removal in 1783, as many as thirty-four families, consisting chiefly of young married persons connected with his congregation of East Nottingham or the Rock, on the borders of Cecil and Chester counties, had emigrated to Western Pennsylvania, and settled within an area of not over forty miles diameter.* Twenty-two of the men of this migration became elders, and prominent and useful men in church and state. Philip Tanner, Mr. Power's father-in-law, had been one of Mr. Finley's elders at East Nottingham. He owned the land on Dunlap's Creek, in Fayette county, on which Mr. Power resided when Dr. McMillan tarried with him on his removal to Chartiers, in 1778. He also owned two tracts in the vicinity of Rehoboth meeting-house, and it is believed died there about the time of Mr. Finley's death. James Edgar, one of Mr. Smith's elders, whose praise is in all the churches, as well as in our civil annals, was from York county, where he was a church elder, and from which, before his removal to Cross Creek in 1778, he had been a prominent representative in several of the conventions and in one Assembly of the State in the Revolutionary period. He was a great man and greatly good,† and filled important stations, legislative and judicial, in Washington county. He brought with him and attracted many of his York county neighbors. A research into the antecedents of the long list of elders named by Dr. Smith in his "Old Redstone" (page 456), warrants the assertion that at least one

* Dr. Smith's "Old Redstone," 285; Life of Macurdy, 252.

† See the curious "Solemn League and Covenant," in Dr. Creigh's History of Washington County, pages 47–50.

half of them were from *the nursery*. Rev. Mr. Henderson, the pioneer of the Secession or U. P. Churches in the West, was from Oxford, in Chester county, and had charge also of a church at Pencader, in the border of New Castle county, Delaware. Very many, perhaps all, of his people had come from that region, and from Scotland and Ireland. Time would fail to tell of all the Scotch-Irish worthies who infused themselves into our early settlements just before the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, and at its close; "who, through faith wrought righteousness" throughout all our border.

We return now to some of the prominent events and results of the Virginia usurpation. We call it usurpation, for such it undoubtedly was east of the Monongahela. West of that river her sway was entitled to a milder name.

Of all the Governors whom the King, in the closing years of his supremacy, sent over to dragoon his restless American colonies into "passive obedience," the most arrogant and rapacious was John, Earl of Dunmore, "a needy Scotch peer of the house of Murray." He had, in 1771, tried his "'prentice hand" in governorship, over New York, where he played "such fantastic tricks" in rapacity as to bring his career to a hasty and ignominious close. Being too supple a minion of arbitrary power to be retired, he was, in 1772, transferred to his Majesty's ancient Colony and Dominion of Virginia, where he found a wider scope for his land greed, which was insatiable, and for his tyrannies, which knew no bounds but his own personal safety. Virginia, as he and his Majesty's Council in that Colony understood it, covered not only the south-eastern borders of the Ohio, but all the territory north-west of that river to the Mississippi. About this period those regions began to swarm with land jobbers and adventurers of all kinds, and his cupidity went forth in that direction. He saw at a glance that the Monongahela below Redstone was the great water avenue from Eastern Virginia to that territory, and that Pittsburgh held the portals. They must be acquired at all hazards.

In the summer of 1773 his lordship projected and executed a land hunt tour into the West. Washington was to have accompanied him, to look after the land bounties of himself and other officers and soldiers of the French War of 1755–63, but was prevented by

the death of a daughter of Mrs. Washington. Dunmore took Pittsburgh in his way, going and returning, and while here made the acquaintance of one Doctor John Connolly, a renegade Pennsylvanian prone to political intrigue, and schooled in all the wiles of wilderness adventure; the same who was of the dinner party which Washington, when in Pittsburgh, returning from his voyage down the Ohio in 1770, gave at the "very good house of public entertainment" on the south-east corner of Water and Ferry streets, kept by Samuel Semple, Connolly's prospective father-in-law, as related by Washington in his journal of that tour. He was the right man for Dunmore; so much so that it might be a question whether he swallowed Connolly, or Connolly him.

Doubtless Connolly had accompanied Dunmore into the West, and while on the expedition and here the scheme of the usurpation was concocted. A willing populace seemed ready for it; and to perfect it Connolly paid him a visit at his "palace" in Williamsburgh, during the Christmas holidays of that year. Forthwith, upon his return, early in January, 1774, without any notice to any of the Pennsylvania officials at Philadelphia or elsewhere, the usurpation was inaugurated at Fort Pitt, now christened Fort Dunmore. It was both military and civil, Connolly being constituted Captain Commandant of all the militia of Pittsburgh and its dependencies. Efficient coadjutors were found in Dorsey Pentecost, who then resided in the Forks of Yough, at whose house Dr. McMillan preached his fifth sermon in the West, in August, 1775, and who afterwards became his neighbor on the East Branch of Chartiers, and a prominent man in Washington County, of whom we will hear more when we get over there. He had been a Bedford county justice, but was—doubtless for good reasons—left out of the commission for Westmoreland. The unfortunate Col. William Crawford, who was then presiding justice of the courts of Westmoreland, soon came to his aid, as did also many other men of distinction. These, backed by Connolly's militia, composed, as Col. Crawford characterized them before his defection, "of men without character and without fortune, and who would be equally averse to the regular administration of justice under Virginia as they are to that under Pennsylvania," very soon bore down all opposition, and the usurpation became complete.

Pennsylvania had, at this juncture, in Westmoreland, some very resolute and loyal justices, among them Arthur (afterwards General) St. Clair, then the prothonotary, etc., of the county; George Wilson, of Mt. Moriah Church vicinity—of whom more hereafter; Thomas Scott, then residing near the meeting-house of Dunlap's Creek Presbyterian Church, in Fayette, afterwards the first prothonotary, etc., of Washington county, and the first member of Congress from Western Pennsylvania, and several others in and around Pittsburgh. They did all they could to counteract and break down the usurpation; but, having no militia to sustain them, they were utterly powerless. At its earliest announcement by Connolly, St. Clair had him arrested and committed to the jail at Hannastown, from which he was soon discharged on bail for his appearance at court there. When court came he appeared, with his "militia" in his train, defied the court, and shut the court-house door upon the judges. For stoutly, but discreetly, asserting their powers and privileges, Connolly had three of the justices of the court who resided at and near Pittsburgh—Andrew McFarlane, Æneas McKay, and Devereaux Smith—sent off under arrest to Augusta jail, at Staunton, from which Dunmore had the manliness to release them. Subsequently, the Westmoreland jail was assaulted and broken by mobs, led by Simon Girty, "and such," under orders from Connolly and Crawford, and prisoners, committed by Pennsylvania justices, were set at liberty. These are but samples of the enormities that were perpetrated. During the year 1774, and up to the middle of 1775, when Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill had turned the current of feeling into other channels, the adherents of Pennsylvania in the infected district were subjected, in their persons, houses, and property, to all sorts of insults, violence, vexatious suits, and oppressions. And yet, perhaps, because of the resistless supremacy of the Virginia partizans, no blood was shed.

To induce a withdrawal of the invasion, Governor Penn had recourse to negotiation with Dunmore, and a special embassy to his palace; but without any other result than to disclose more fully the conflicting claims of the parties. The Governor proposed to make the Monongahela a temporary line of jurisdiction, but his lordship indignantly scouted it, saying that under nothing short of his Majesty's orders would he relinquish his hold upon Pittsburgh.

Dunmore affected to be, and perhaps was, intensely loyal to his King. So was Connolly, and they were equally reckless. Under orders emanating from Connolly, aided by aggressions of the land-jobbers, the Indian War of 1774, known in history as Dunmore's or Cresap's War, was brought on. It was purely the result of murders and aggressions by Virginians, and the Indians had discernment enough to so regard it. During its short-lived fury they never crossed the Monongahela in their rage for plunder and revenge. Dunmore afterwards upbraided them for this partiality. It was not until the War of the Revolution had brought the British, and refugees and Tories in Canada and Detroit, to aid and instigate them, that they ever afterwards invaded the soil of Pennsylvania.

To "chastise" the Ohio Indians for their retaliation and partiality, Dunmore, with numerous recruits to his forces from his partizans along the Monongahela below Redstone, led in person one division from Pittsburgh, down the Ohio to Hockhocking; and after betraying Col. Lewis into almost a defeat at Point Pleasant, made a hasty peace at Camp Charlotte. While his campaign was going on, the first Congress of the Revolution was sitting at Philadelphia; and he had sense enough to see that he would soon be needed at home, and that two things within his power to promote might greatly aid the cause of the King—the favor of the Indians and intestine feuds between the colonies—and he shaped his policy accordingly.* He returned by the route he went, and signalized his bivouac at Fort Burd (Brownsville), by causing Thomas Scott to be committed for trial for treason against Virginia, at an Augusta Court, to be held at Fort Dunmore, from which he was not released until accumulated resentment and the beginning of the war

* Notwithstanding the manifest treachery of Dunmore in these transactions, and his palpable antagonisms about this time to the dearest rights of the colonists, the second Revolutionary Convention of Virginia, in session at Richmond, in March, 1775—the same in which Patrick Henry made his celebrated "we must fight—liberty or death" speech—passed a most fulsome commendatory resolution of his conduct in this campaign. And when, in 1802-3, his son, "without one solitary ray of native genius," and of "manners bold, forward, and assuming," made a visit to Virginia, he was feted, feasted, and toadied to, by the "first families," as if a son of her greatest benefactor. See Wirt's "British Spy," Letter 1, and letter of Wirt to Dabney Carr, January 16, 1804, in Kennedy's Life of Wirt, Vol. I., Chap. IX.

for liberty had burst his prison bounds, and set many of Connolly's captives free. The year of jubilee had come to Pittsburgh.

Ere midsummer of 1775 a mighty change had come over the temper of the colonies, compelling, almost everywhere, their oppressors to yield to the upheaval of popular resentment, or be buried beneath it. Dunmore had fled in terror from his palace in Williamsburgh, to play governor on shipboard, and pirate on the inlets of the Chesapeake Bay. Connolly's enormities and Tory proclivities had at length so roused the indignation of the Pennsylvanians, that a party of them from Hannastown swooped down upon Fort Dunmore, and rescued the justices and tax collectors there imprisoned. Under the guidance of Sheriff Carnahan and Col. George Wilson, they captured the arch offender himself, and hurried him off towards Philadelphia. By reprisals upon three of the justices, including Col. Wilson, and sending them off to Fort Fincastle, at Wheeling, Connolly's friends procured his release ere he reached his destination. Early in July, soon after his return to Pittsburgh, he fled, to condole with his lordship at Portsmouth in Virginia, and devise new schemes of mischief. He never returned, to the great relief, as well of the oppressed, as of many of his coadjutors in oppression. On his way from Dunmore, after a visit to Gage at Boston, with a Lieut.-Colonel's commission to raise a regiment of Tories and Indians in the West, he was captured near Hagerstown in Maryland, and consigned to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, by whom he was kept a close prisoner there and at Baltimore, with occasional releases on bail and on parole—all of which he violated, and therefor was re-committed—until near the close of the war, when he retired to Canada as a British officer on half-pay, waiting and watching perhaps to the end of his life for something to turn up, whereby he might "feed fat his ancient grudge" against the United States. He merited a halter more than did Andre.*

It might be supposed that upon the downfall of the Dunmore dynasty the usurpation would have been withdrawn. But not so. Spurning the tyrannies of his lordship at home, Virginia clung to his aggressions abroad. The early battles of the Revolution seem to have paralyzed the Proprietary government of Pennsylvania into

* See Appendix, No. 1.

utter unconcern about our boundary troubles. Frequent appeals for relief brought no response. In the meantime, amid the cry, to arms! new actors come upon the stage, who are too busy with affairs of greater moment to give any heed to a mere border strife. Men and munitions of war had to be provided, and new governments organized, "founded upon the authority of the people only." Men from the disputed territory were marching to the front, under the banners of the Colony to which they respectively adhered; and for the present that was all that was needed. This lull in the strife enables us to go back a little to gather up some of its ingredients which have a bearing upon the purpose for which we are considering it.

Upon the revocation of the old charter of 1609 to the London Company, Virginia became a royal colony, with just such territorial limits as occupancy gave to her without interfering with any other grant from the King. The *Dominion* of Virginia was a different thing, consisting of all the domain of Great Britain in America adjoining the Colony, which had not been granted to some other Colony or Proprietary, as were the Carolinas, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. But by an adroit annexation of the Colony to the Dominion, Virginia came, in time, to consider them as one and the same thing; and practically, for many purposes, they were so. For this, however, she had no other basis than having been, for a long time, constituted keeper for the King of this ungranted dominion. It was upon this ground that Dunmore asserted her right to rule in the disputed territory, assuming that it was outside of the grant to William Penn, and had been settled under Virginia. Grant his premises, and his conclusion is a fair one. He probably knew that Virginia, as a Colony, had repeatedly, and in every form of repudiation, disowned the old charter of 1609; and it comported better with his exalted sense of his vice-royal prerogative to put the usurpation upon a loftier pretence. This was all well enough while Virginia remained a loyal Colony; but upon her revolt, and throwing off her kingly keeper-ship, she thereby severed herself from the Dominion, and henceforth had to it nothing more than a right in common with the other States of the Old Thirteen. Those who swayed her councils about this time probably saw this, and were, therefore, driven to evoke from its grave of ages the old charter of

1609, for the double purpose of saving the transmontane territory of which she had possessed herself, and from which her eastern settlements were widely separated, and of frightening off the inceptive Colonies of Transylvania and Vandalia, then rising in the West. Ultimately, as our early national history discloses, by her dominant rank as a State, and by combining with other States which claimed "from sea to sea," she pertinaciously kept up a show of title to the vast territory northwest of the Ohio, now five or six States, to which she had no more right than had the State of Delaware. This, however, does not concern us now, or here; and I have adverted to it only to give strength to the assertion that, even to the territory west of the Monongahela, she had no other foundation of right than priority of settlement and acquiescence. The States united had much stronger ground upon which to challenge her title there than she had to interfere with Pennsylvania east of that river. But time and recognition have cured all defects.

The first Constitution of Virginia, adopted June 29, 1776, has in it these very singular provisions: "The territories contained within the charters erecting the Colonies of Maryland, *Pennsylvania*, North and South Carolina, are hereby *ceded*, released, and for ever confirmed to the people of those Colonies, respectively, with all the rights of property, jurisdiction, and government, and all other rights whatsoever which might at any time heretofore have been claimed by Virginia. . . . . The western and northern extent of Virginia shall, in all other respects, stand as fixed by the charter of King James I., in the year 1609, and by the public treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, in 1763." It was very kind in her to stop at the Mississippi; and no doubt Maryland and the Carolinas breathed freer after this, and so would Pennsylvania have done, had it not been that Virginia still maintained her aggressions east of the Monongahela.

Settlements in Virginia west of the Blue Ridge began about 1730. To provide for their government, that Colony, in 1738, erected the whole territory westward of that mountain barrier into the counties of Frederick and Augusta. The line of separation between them was a prolongation of the southwest line of what is now the county of Shenandoah to the southern terminus of the west boundary of Maryland, at Fairfax's stone, "the head fountain" of the Potomac,

and thence indefinitely "west and northwest," covering what are now some fifty or sixty counties and four or five States, "omitting fractions."

During 1774, '5, and '6, the disputed territory and all west of it to the Ohio was treated by Virginia as part of Augusta county. Precisely when, how, and with what limits, if any, what came to be known as the District of West Augusta was erected, it is bootless now to inquire. It is enough for us to know that during those years Virginia ruled it by that name. Courts composed of Dunmore's justices, most of whom resided in the disputed territory, were held at Fort Dunmore (Pittsburgh) upon adjournments from Staunton. Taxes were levied, and perhaps some of them paid; roads, mills, taverns, and ferries were authorized; ear marks and title deeds recorded; and many other judicial functions exercised adapted to the times, and especially to crushing out whatever of loyalty to Pennsylvania showed itself in the disputed territory. Deserted by the government at Philadelphia, what could its friends do but submit to the inevitable and 'bide their time? It was not long until the only undisputed jurisdiction of Pennsylvania west of the mountains was crowded into a little region around Hannastown, reaching no where more than from ten to twenty miles towards the Monongahela.

We can now see why it was that when Dr. McMillan was sent out by his Presbytery, in 1775, and again in 1776, his commission was cautiously worded, to go to "Augusta *and* Westmoreland." From the time he got two days' journey up the Shenandoah valley, if he kept his bearings towards the setting sun, go where he would, he was within the bounds of his mission. And if at most places where he preached, between the mountains and the Monongahela, he had been challenged to elect his allegiance, he could have answered:

"Non nobis inter vos tantas componere lites."

In the journal of Dr. McMillan's first tour into the west it is thus written:

"*Saturday* [*Sept.* 9, 1775] preached at Josiah Richards', on Robeson's run, and rode about thirteen miles to Fort Pitt, and lodged at Mr. Ormsby's.

"*The 2d Sabbath* [10*th*] preached at Fort Pitt, and rode about seven miles to Thomas Ross', where I tarried till Tuesday."

Mr. Ormsby was John Ormsby, who then resided on or near the southeast corner of Water and Ferry Streets, and was perhaps keeping the "very good house of public entertainment" which Samuel Sample had kept in 1770; for, though a sturdy Pennsylvanian, Lord Dunmore had lodged with him about a year before, and tried, in vain, to seduce him into his scheme of usurpation. He also owned the ferry opposite. The Doctor notes no expense that day. Thomas Ross was the Doctor's brother-in-law, and lived near where Wilkinsburg now is.*

Chronology often brings together events which increase in interest by their coincidence. Perhaps at the very hour Dr. McMillan was preaching at Fort Pitt, Connolly was in council with General Gage at Boston concocting his "infernal scheme" against the western frontiers, for which purpose Dunmore had sent him to Gage in a ship of His Majesty's navy, so as to elude the vigilance of General Washington, who was then fast closing in his lines on his old fellow officer in Braddock's campaign. On the day after Dr. McMillan preached at the fort it was taken possession of by a Virginia company commanded by Captain (afterwards General) Neville, which had arrived a few days before, so as to hold it against the machinations of Dunmore and Connolly. And commissioners sent out by Congress were here awaiting the coming in of the western Indians to have a peace conference with them. The commotion caused by these events, though he is silent about them, doubtless induced the good Doctor to make part of a Sabbath day's journey to his sister's, on his way homeward that evening. Unconsciously he was in the beginnings of the great future for the West, for his country, his church, and himself, which he lived to enjoy and helped to create.

Although Dr. McMillan was not the first Presbyterian minister to preach at Fort Pitt, it is so highly probable as to be almost certain that he was the first of that faith to preach west of the Monongahela. Inconsiderately, and without duly estimating the well defined and long enduring line of separation which that river made in our early settlements, our standard church historians† have given

* He was the ancestor of William B. Ross, the present (1875) Chief of Police of Allegheny City, who seems to have a good deal of the old Doctor's pluck in him.

† "Old Redstone," 228, 329; Life of Macurdy, 276.

credit to the supposition that some one or more of the ministers who were sent or came out to the frontiers prior to Dr. McMillan did cross over and preach there.

Mr. Beatty—your worthy grandfather, sir—who was chaplain to a division of Forbes' army, in 1758, and who, beyond all doubt, was the pioneer Protestant preacher in the West, did not then go across the Monongahela. Neither did Mr. Allison, who accompanied Col. Burd to Redstone, in 1759. Nor did Messrs. Beatty and Duffield, when at Fort Pitt in 1766, go over the river, except up the hill opposite the fort, to see the place "from which the garrison is supplied with coals."

Except in a limited portion, hereafter to be more particularly noticed, of what is now Greene County, a few Indians had almost undisturbed possession of all west of the Monongahela until 1771–2. It is not likely, at that early day, that any other ecclesiastical body than the Synod would send out any missionary into this region, or that any would come without being sent, unless to obtain land; and west of what was then considered the limits of Pennsylvania was not the place to go for such purpose by a minister of the Gospel of Peace.

A careful examination of the Records of the Synod from 1770 to 1775 discloses no evidence from which it can be fairly inferred that any appointment of a missionary, or of supplies, was designed to apply to the westward of the Monongahela, or, if embraced in the sometimes general terms of the appointment, that any went there.

It is not worth while to notice those missionaries or supplies sent out prior to 1773, because of lack of people to go to. The appointments of Mr. Finley, in 1771, and of Mr. Craighead,* or Mr. King,† in 1772, may, therefore, be passed without further notice. So may that of Mr. Power, in that year, which was executed as to the "Forks of James River," in Bottetourt County, Virginia.‡

* Rev. John Craighead, pastor of Rocky Spring Church, in Franklin County, 1768-99, and a captain in the Revolutionary War.

† Rev. John King, D.D., pastor of Mercersburg Church, 1769—1811, whose successor was the late Rev. David Elliott, D.D. Dr. King was in part the theological instructor of the late President Matthew Brown, D.D., Rev. Dr. Herron, and of many others.

‡ "Old Redstone," 227–8.

At the Synod of 1773 no appointments or supplies were ordered for this region of country. More crying demands came from other places. "The harvest truly was plenteous, but the laborers few."

At the Synod of 1774 [Records, 454–5], application was made by Rev. Messrs. Robert Cooper* and James Finley, "that some supplies be sent to the numerous and increasing vacancies on the extensive frontiers of *Pennsylvania*, and to form them into congregations as far as they can." In pursuance of this three supplies were ordered—Rev. Messrs. John Hanna, William Foster,† and Mr. Samuel Smith, a licentiate of New Castle Presbytery, the latter to go four months "on the frontier parts of Pennsylvania, *and in Virginia*, if his state of health will admit of it." [Records, 460.] At the Synod of 1775, it is noted that Mr. Smith fulfilled his appointment, and that Messrs. Hanna and Foster did not. [Records, 463.] Mr. Smith being in bad health, no doubt went South. He must have died soon after, for we can trace him no further.

At the Synod of 1775, the treasurer was ordered to pay Mr. Irwin‡ £9 9s. 3d. on account of his mission to the western frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. [Records, 470.] He was probably appointed by the First Presbytery of Philadelphia, after the adjournment of the Synod. It is presumed that Mr. Irwin went, as Mr. Smith did, into the valley of Virginia, where there were many importunate vacancies.

The only thing that looks like direct evidence to sustain the supposition referred to, that I have seen, is the statement made to the late Rev. Dr. Joseph Smith, by his step-father, Rev. T. Hunt, son-in-law of Mr. Power, that the latter had "repeatedly informed him" that in the summer of 1774 he had spent three months in missionary

* Pastor of Middle Spring Church, Cumberland County, 1765-97.

† Pastor of Upper Octorara, Chester County, 1768 to 1780; grandfather of Hon. Henry D. Foster, of Greensburg, and of A. W. Foster and the late J. Heron Foster, of Pittsburgh. He was a brother-in-law of Rev. John Carmichael, pastor of Brandywine Manor, who married Dr. McMillan and Catharine Brown, "Tuesday, August 6th, 1776, in troublous times." Both the brothers-in-law were distinguished patriots and "political preachers" in Revolutionary times.

‡ Rev. Nathaniel Irwin, licensed by the Presbytery of New Castle, in 1773; ordained by the First Presbytery of Philadelphia in 1774, of which he was long a member.

labors through all the settlements of what are now *Washington*, Allegheny, Westmoreland, and Fayette Counties."* Nothing would be more natural to a person speaking in general terms, or to a person taking note of what he said, without thinking of the distinct line of separation between the two sides of the river, than to associate Washington with the other counties of Southwestern Pennsylvania.

What seems very conclusive that neither Mr. Power nor any other minister went west of the Monongahela in the year 1774, is that during all that year, from April to November, covering the probable seasons of missionary labor, that entire region, through all its borders and interior, was in a state of terror from the Indians in what is known as Dunmore's War, as already noted. The settlers there fled, or sent off their families to forts or other places of security east of the Monongahela, over which the Indians did not go, because it was against Virginians only that they were in pursuit of revenge. It is, therefore, highly improbable that any minister ventured into that enemy's country during that year. During the next year there was peace, and in August Dr. McMillan was there. Neither he nor any one else, in a form of evidence to be relied upon, has given us to know that he had any precursor. Some John, *a* Baptist, undoubtedly, preceded him, but he was *the* John, the forerunner of Presbyterian ministers west of the Monongahela.

Nor ought we to give implicit credence to the traditionary recollections of those who make the Rev. James Finley to have come into this region in 1765, and again in 1767.† We can refuse our belief in this statement without at all impeaching the perfect truthfulness of those from whom it has been derived. Nothing is more common than for narrators of early events, after a long lapse of years, and without written memorials to guide them, to put them beyond their true dates. In 1765 this entire region, beyond sight of the King's forts, was an uninhabited wilderness, save by a few Indians, and more savage beasts. In 1767 it was not much better. Mr. Finley's earliest advent is said to have been to look for "good land for his six promising boys." If so, the time is fixed four or five years too

* "Old Redstone," 228; Life of Macurdy, 276.

† *Ib.*, 279, 280–284; Life of Macurdy, 251, 2.

soon. He could not but know that prior to 1769, as already noted, intrusions into Southwestern Pennsylvania for any such purpose would be unavailing, and subject him to the pains and penalties of the *bloody law*, "without benefit of clergy." What seems to set the question at rest, is a passage in his circular letter on the New State project, which will be noticed in another connection, dated "Dunlap's Creek, March ye 18th, 1783.* I have been labouring for the good of this settlement these *thirteen years*, &c.," which puts his advent to 1770, when he could very properly come, as well to preach as to get land. He was probably in the West in that year, certainly in 1771, and perhaps in several of the succeeding years up to 178_, when he removed to Rehoboth.

While sitting for the correction of errors, we may as well dispose of another which has crept into nearly all our ecclesiastical histories; one of more serious import than those already noticed, because highly derogatory to the character of the founders of our early churches. It is that we had *no Meeting-houses until* 1790, some fifteen years, at least, after our Presbyterian settlements had become able to erect them, and long after many of them had settled pastors. The author of "Old Redstone" is not otherwise responsible for this error than in having copied into his book a paper in which it probably originated, without correcting it,† a duty which he would have discharged had he lived to complete his projected new edition of that valuable but somewhat disjointed work.

The attentive reader of the minutes of the Old Redstone Presby-

* This letter was doubtless written at the house of his son Ebenezer, whom he had seated on a tract of land on that creek, in Fayette County, which he bought in 1771 or 1772, on which his descendants yet reside. In the tax-roll of Rostravor Township for 1773, in now Westmoreland County, he is charged as the owner of land there. So is Mr. Tanner, his elder, who accompanied him. The letter, in full, is found in *Penn'a Archives*, X. 41, 44. Rehoboth Meeting-house was upon his land, for which he provided a title by his will, dated November, 1794.

† I believe this error originated in one of a series of papers, entitled "Early Recollections of the West," by the late Judge Wilkeson, of Buffalo, N. Y., who once lived on Chartiers, first published in the "American Pioneer," Vol. II. (page 159), which are copied into Dr. Smith's "Old Redstone" (page 44). From these it has been carried into Dr. Gillett's revised edition of the "History of the Presbyterian Church, &c.," Vol. I., 253.

tery, from 1781 to 1793, which form the staple of Dr. Smith's history, will not have failed to note the implied correction which they furnish. With a single exception (at James McKee's, Congruity, Sept., 1790), all its meetings are at places designated by the names of churches, as Laurel Hill, Chartiers, Bethel, &c., some of them expressly at Meeting-houses, as at the *Lower* or *Upper* Meeting-house in *the Forks*, Round Hill, and Rehoboth. It cannot be supposed that they met at a tent, or in the open air, especially in January, nor would the members know where to assemble, unless at a fixed and well-known locality.

We have, however, conclusive evidence that there were several meeting-houses—I prefer that name to churches—in Southwestern Pennsylvania many years prior to the erection of Redstone Presbytery. I speak here of Presbyterian Meeting-houses only. Mount Moriah, near the southwest corner of Fayette County, at which Dr. McMillan preached his first sermon in the West, shows on record a deed dated July 1, 1773, for four acres, including a spring, where a "meeting-house is now building,"* It is a Presbyterian Meeting-house, though, being on the outer verge of George's Creek Congregation, it has been in some measure superseded. Dr. McMillan's journal shows that he preached, on the 3d Sabbath of August, 1775, at the "Forks Meeting-house,"† which, from the context, must have been Round Hill; and on September 13th, of the same year, he preached at a Meeting-house on Long Run, one of the predecessors of the existing Meeting-house of that name in Westmoreland County. There were doubtless Meeting-houses at Mt. Pleasant, Sewickley, Laurel Hill, and Dunlap's Creek, the scenes of Mr. Power's early labors, not later than 1777.

We need not wonder at the early existence of meeting-houses in the wooded West. One could be erected and finished in two or

*See Appendix, No. 2.

† The copyist of the extract from Dr. McM.'s journal, or the printer of "Old Redstone," page 182, by omitting a line in the MS., deprives the reader of the evidence of this meeting-house. Under the head of *The third Sabbath of August*, it should read as follows:—"Preached at Mr. Pentecost's. . . . I tarried here until Wednesday, when I rode about six miles [*and preached at the Forks Meeting-house.* In the afternoon I traveled six miles] further," &c. The words in brackets being omitted in the extract.

three days, at an expense only of the time and willing hands. A few sturdy men with axes and an auger, a yoke of oxen and a log-chain, a crosscut saw and frow, were all that were needed, and by the next Sabbath it was ready for the minister and the people. There was no "laying of corner-stones," with all the trumpery and trumpetry of modern times. Grant that they were rude, they were cheery, in harmony with the homes of their builders, rearing their humble clapboard roofs with weight-poles to hold them against the wind, away in *the country*, on some wooded slope, or in some quiet vale, beside some noiseless spring or prattling rill—fit locations at which to drink of the Water of Life, and hymn the Songs of Zion in unison with the bird-notes of the bushes and the deep diapason of the forest. Their places have been supplied by edifices of more costly structure; while as to all but a few, the glorious old forest trees which sheltered and adorned them have decayed or been cut away, and, in too many instances, their worshippers have not had enough of the grace of taste to plant and protect substitutes. A treeless country church is worse than a tombless grave.

Thus far, I have endeavored to confine these ramblings over our early annals to the eastern borders of the Monongahela, with only occasional glances to the other side. I have kept the western side of that river for separate consideration, because as to the colony under which most of its settlements began, their ages, and the predominant character of its early settlers, it was as distinct as was Kentucky from Ohio, with the "bloody river" rolling between; and in some respects still is. We are, however, now at a stage from which our history, on both sides, begins to run in parallel lines, if not to blend; and the points of interest move, with the "star of empire," to the westward. Henceforth it is from that quarter light will come, under which to read understandingly much of our political and religious history during the closing years of the last century. We must, therefore, cross over into that Mesopotamian region, and look into the beginnings of things there.

Viewed as a whole—for as such we must for a while consider it—north of the latitude of Mason and Dixon's line, it may not be inaptly called a peninsula. It was certainly isolated. For purposes of access to the Great West it was intercepted by the Monongahela and Upper Ohio. It had no army roads, nothing but Indian trails

upon the crests of its hills. Nor was it penetrated by any considerable water-courses upon which the Indian or the trader could paddle his light canoe. Though abounding in game, its forests were not productive of peltry; and its rugged contour was not attractive to the hunter or the husbandman. Except as to a small part, it was not, even after 1769, considered open to settlement under Pennsylvania; while as a part of the King's ungranted Dominion of Virginia, he had by proclamation, soon after its undisputed acquisition by the Treaty of Paris of 1763, prohibited its settlement—an interdict which had been scrupulously obeyed by his Governors up to the accession of Dunmore, though not always by his subjects.

Viewed as to the times of its settlement, it is to be considered in two very distinct parts—its river borders, and its interior.

Of its river borders, that formed by the Monongahela was the soonest settled; and of this, that portion which, after 1767 was found to be in Pennsylvania, was the earliest. This was the settlement upon Muddy Creek, in (now) Greene County, spreading out northwards towards Ten Mile, and southwards towards Whiteclay Creeks. A respectable historian, who seems to have drawn his data from the land office at Harrisburg, makes its beginnings in 1769;* which is corroborated by its adjacency to settlements about or before that time in what is now Fayette County, and by the further fact that some of the very earliest official surveys in the West, under Pennsylvania, were in that region. Nowhere in all Western Pennsylvania is the lay of the land more inviting. Most of the hills of Greene County have been pushed back upon its southern and western borders. The roll of taxables for Springhill Township, Bedford County, for 1773, hereinbefore referred to, testifies to a probable population then in that settlement of not less than five hundred, and the aggregate of taxes for the preceding year indicates a not rapid increase. Like the early settlers in corresponding parts

* The reference here is to "Early History of Western Pennsylvania, etc., by a Gentleman of the Bar. Pittsburg, Daniel W. Kauffman; Harrisburg, William O. Hickok, 1846." At page 48 he says Greene County was settled in 1796, evidently intended for 1769—the two last figures having been transposed. It was in 1796 that the county was erected out of that part of Washington. See further as to this, Appendix, No. 3.

of Fayette, they had come mostly from the Potomac borders of Maryland and Virginia, the Kittatinny Valley, a few, perhaps, from *the Nursery*, and some from Ireland. John Armstrong's, where Dr. McMillan preached his second sermon in the West, was on Muddy Creek; and in that vicinity is the oldest Presbyterian church in Greene County—for a while the only one. Mr. Armstrong was doubtless an acquaintance of the Doctor. The first call for supplies to the old Presbytery of Redstone was from Muddy Creek and the South Fork of Ten Mile (Jefferson).

Lower down the river, in choice locations, and up its largest affluents, settlements were early formed. Old Virginia had for a long time made a special business of persecuting Baptists. Hence they took refuge on Muddy Creek, Whiteclay, and Ten Mile, and lower down upon Pike Run and Peters Creek, at an early day, where they were ministered to by Elders Corbly and the Sutton brothers. A Baptist church in the last-named locality celebrated its centennial in November, 1873. Dr. McMillan preached twice in its Meeting house in 1775, and in one on Pike Run in 1776.

The Ohio river border came to be the abode of white men at a somewhat later date. When Washington made his canoe tour down the Ohio to Kenhawa, in October, 1770, and returned on horseback from the Mingo Bottom across to Pittsburgh, by way, it is presumed, of Robeson's Run and Chartiers, in November, he does not note a single settler except Alexander McKee, at the mouth of that creek. Settlers would not have escaped his observing eye, nor would he have failed to note them; for he says in his journal that people from Virginia and elsewhere were then exploring and marking all the valuable lands along the Ohio as far as he went, and would probably come to settle the next year. They undoubtedly came within the next two or three years. They were on the very outskirts of civilization, in close contact with the Indians across the river, eking out a rude subsistence from game, fish, and by a paltry trade in rum and peltry. It was their destiny a few years hence to become a coast-guard to the better classes of men who ere long peopled the interior.

The Rev. Joseph Doddridge, M.D., who spent all his life after 1773 on the Ohio river border, at and near Wellsburgh, whose valuable *notes* on the early settlements, &c., of this region, so often

quoted, are of the highest authority, viewing things from his standpoint, says that settlements began in the peninsula, in 1772, and rapidly pushed on to the Ohio in the next year and afterwards.* Though too late in the beginning, he is no doubt right as to the progress. He (as were also his distinguished brother Philip, Robert Patterson, James Allison, William Wylie, Alexander Campbell, the founder of the sect of "Disciples," and others), was of the first class in the Canonsburg Academy, in 1791, and doubtless all his life kept an eye towards the interior, but does not state the era or period of its settlement. It was probably in such numbers as to attract notice in 1772 and 1773, the last years of the second great Scotch-Irish emigration from Ulster to Pennsylvania, already related. Unlike the river border settlements, it seems to have had a centre, and then spread outwardly; and that centre was the Chartiers congregations of Dr. McMillan and Mr. Henderson.† Dr. Doddridge, referring of course to the border settlers, says they came chiefly from Maryland and Virginia; and being himself an Episcopalian minister, laments that although many of them were of Episcopal parentage and training, they did not bring much of their religion with them. He further says, that the Scotch-Irish generally took to the interior, and leaves it to be inferred that they did bring

* There are historians who locate settlers—the Zanes at Wheeling, Isaac Williams near the mouth of Buffalo, the Tomlinsonsa nd others at Grave Creek, &c., at as early a date as 1769 and 1770. They were doubtless like the McAfees and Boone in Kentucky, roving pioneers and hunters, or looking out for good locations in the future. There were perhaps others of the same kind in the peninsula and on its borders, but they do not entitle their abodes to the dignity of *settlements*, and I prefer to follow Doddridge.

† There can be no doubt as to Pigeon Creek and Chartiers being the first Presbyterian congregations organized west of the Monongahela. But which of the two outranks the other can perhaps never be determined. Dr. McMillan's testimony leaves it in doubt. All we have from him to the point is his journal, which reads thus: "The first Sabbath of February (1776), preached at Mr. McDowell's (on Chartiers). Monday, set out to see my sister (Mrs. Ferguson, near the Monongahela), stayed with them till Friday. Friday, *returned again to my congregation.* Stopt at Thomas Cook's, on Mingo Creek, where I continued till Sabbath. The second Sabbath of February, preached at Arthur Forbes" (which was in the Pigeon Creek neighborhood). This looks as if he, at that time, considered both as one congregation.

their religion with them. This all the world knows. Moreover, they did not seclude themselves far away among people of no religion. They were like the sheep upon the thousand hills of the peninsula, somewhat gregarious in their habits, and not averse to high lands. With them it was—first, good farms at cheap rates and good neighbors; then the cabin, the clearing, the minister, the meeting-house, and the school. And the fact that they had no minister of their faith among them until 1775, is presumptive proof that they had not been long there. That a very large proportion—by some estimated as high as seven-eighths—of these interior settlers were of Scotch-Irish lineage, and Presbyterians of the various branches of that faith, is a well accredited fact. And there they established, and have ever since maintained, a *new nursery*, from which have been disseminated the benefits and blessings of religion and education all over the West and Northwest. Although many of them who had come from the "Old Country," had been residents of Pennsylvania long enough to have formed some attachment to its laws and government, and others were "to the manner born," they came, nothing loth, into what they supposed was Virginia, under assurance confirmed by the immunity long enjoyed by their brethren and kindred in the Shenandoah Valley, that tithes and intolerance would never reach them there.*

Up to 1776 it does not appear that the improvised district of West Augusta took much care of His Majesty's subjects west of the Monongahela, except in the immediate vicinity of Pittsburgh. The most that it did was to authorize some roads from places in the Youghiogheny settlements and Fort Dunmore, into the interior, to Paul Froman's Mill, on Chartiers, to Dunfields [where?], to Pentecost's Mill, on the east branch of Chartiers, and one as far as Catfish's Camp. Says the same high authority already cited (Dr. Doddridge): "In the section of country where my father lived there was, for many years after the settlement of the country, 'neither law nor gospel.' . . . During a long period we knew nothing of courts, lawyers, magistrates, sheriffs, or constables. Every one, therefore, was at liberty to do whatever was right in his own eyes." Game and lands were free, and plenty for all. Slanders and insults were settled by single combat. For other offences

* See Appendix, No. 4.

there was a code more imperative in its requirements than printed statutes—the unerring little finger of public scorn, thicker than all the loins of the law books. "Hating out" was a more effective punishment than fines and imprisonment. Being, for a while, at peace among themselves and with the Indians, the settlers were content to be let alone. And had it not been for the growing troubles east of the Monongahela, and apprehensions of "fightings from without," they might have safely remained so for a much longer period. These, however, and a rapidly augmenting population in the peninsula west of the Monongahela, gave to Virginia an opportune pretext for annexing to it the disputed territory, and by sub-division to strengthen her sway over the whole. To accomplish this she, in October, 1776, erected the united territory, and much more of what is now West Virginia, into three counties, Monongalia, Ohio, and Yohogania. The new arrangement went into effect in December of that year; but it never worked well, especially in the disputed districts, where duality of dominion led to increasing evasions of both civil and military duty. Men vibrated in their allegiance as caprice or interest prompted. Land titles became uncertain, animosities festered, and enmities became indurated. Throughout the whole territory immigration slackened and progress halted. And yet for some purposes it was well that jurisdiction was divided. What was left of Westmoreland was an exposed frontier under constant alarms from Canadian British, Tories, and Indians. So was the peninsula, but in greater degree, because of its longer border. The National Government was almost powerless for protection. Neither of the two States could afford much aid. The enemy was upon them in the east, and their resources were exhausted. Each had to leave its ultramontane people to defend themselves. This was more easily effected by severed allegiance and ready concentration of home effort than it could have been by relying upon a united but discordant and scattered action. Each had an important interior to protect for supplies, the safety of which depended upon the vigilance and strength of the border lines. Happily these were maintained under the guidance and co-operation of common commanders at Fort Pitt, through whom intestine conflict was warded off. By this process the fathers of Western Pennsylvania and contiguous Virginia were disciplined to self-reliance, the broadest and strongest basis

upon which to rear elevated and enduring character. In this, if I mistake not, lies the secret of that *back-bone-ism* in church and state, which the Scotch-Irish ancestry of this region early appropriated, and have never surrendered, and which, we trust, their descendants never will surrender or lose.

This digression into a side path enables me to escape any further notice of the workings upon our territory, of these Old Virginia counties, than to say, that Monongalia included a small part of Washington, upon the Ten Mile; about one-third, the southwestern part, of Fayette, and all of Greene. Ohio county embraced about one-third of Washington on the west, below Cross Creek; and Yohogania, the "lost pleiad," covered all the other parts of the undisputed, as well as of the disputed territory, north and east of the other two, in Washington, Beaver, Allegheny, Westmoreland, and Fayette, losing itself amid the perplexities of an undefined boundary. The court-house of Monongalia was on the land of Theophilus Phillips, near New Geneva; that of Ohio, at "Black's Cabin," near West Liberty; and that of Yohogania, on the "plantation of Andrew Heath," on the western bank of the Monongahela, about where the line of Washington and Allegheny counties strikes that river. Almost all our old original meeting-houses were in Yohogania; Buffalo, and perhaps Cross Creek, were in Ohio; Mr. Dodd's, Dunlap's Creek, and Mount Moriah, in Monongalia. The early records of Ohio and Monongalia are lost; those of Yohogania survive, almost the only monument of its existence. Its courts did a large and varied business, civil, criminal, military, and mixed. Dorsey Pentecost was its clerk, and it even had some lawyers. Of its sheriffs, legislative representatives, and "gentlemen justices," were some of the most distinguished and useful men in our early annals, in church and state, in war and in peace.*

We cannot afford here to follow this boundary controversy through all its mazes and doublings. All that concerns us now is to know how it terminated.

Virginia gave but little heed to the *cession* to Pennsylvania which she had embodied in her Constitution. Nor did anybody else. It meant nothing but a haughty condescension to let us keep what she had no rightful power to take away. Practically it left the ques-

* See Appendix, No. 5.

tion just where it found it—what were the true limits and extent of the grant to William Penn? There being no tribunal competent to decide it, the parties were left to work out its solution as best they could.

During the years 1777 and 1778, various propositions for a final adjustment of boundaries were submitted between the parties, but all rejected. At last, in December, 1778, Virginia proposed a joint commission to agree upon them. To this Pennsylvania acceded in March, 1779. Commissioners from each State met in Baltimore, in August of that year; and, after a series of lengthy and able expostions in writing of their respective pretensions, came to the following agreement:

"BALTIMORE, *August 31st*, 1779.

"We, George Bryan, John Ewing, and David Rittenhouse, commissioners for the State of Pennsylvania, and we, James Madison, and Robert Andrews, commissioners for the State of Virginia, do hereby, mutually, on behalf of our respective States, ratify and confirm the following agreement, viz.: To extend Mason and Dixon's line due west five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the river Delaware, for the southern boundary of Pennsylvania; and that a meridian drawn from the western extremity thereof to the northern limits of said State, be the western boundary of Pennsylvania for ever. (Signed.)

GEORGE BRYAN.* JAMES MADISON.§
JOHN EWING.† ROBERT ANDREWS."‖
DAVID RITTENHOUSE.‡

* An eminent Philadelphia lawyer, appointed a Judge of our Supreme Court, in 1780, and re-appointed in 1787. Author of the Constitution of 1776, and of the eloquent preamble to the Act of 1780, "for the gradual abolition of slavery." He was an elder in the Presbyterian Church.

† Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and author of an old college text book on Natural Philosophy. He was a commissioner on the Eastern end of our boundary with Maryland, in 1760, and for our southern boundary with Virginia, in 1784, and was appointed for the western, but declined.

‡ The eminent Astronomer and Mathematician, State Treasurer from 1776 to 1789, first director of the U. S. Mint, and engaged in determining

We may well pause here to inquire how it came to pass that parts of Western Pennsylvania, so important as those between the *meridian* line agreed upon, and the crooked curvilinear line parallel with the Delaware, clear through to the Lake, so long insisted upon by the Penns, and after them by the Commonwealth, are not now parts of the States of West Virginia and Ohio, which they would have been had the repeated offers of Pennsylvania been acceded to.

The correspondence of the commissioners at Baltimore is a model of diplomacy, calm, dignified, but exhibiting the highest order of tact in thrust and parry. I will not undertake to summarize the arguments employed.* The parties set out widely apart, coming together by gradual approaches. The Pennsylvania Commissioners began the negotiations by claiming three degrees of latitude, from 42° to 39°, but because that claim, if recognized in its whole extent, "might disturb the settlers on the south side of the Potomac," they proposed to adopt the west boundary of Maryland, with an extension of it down to 39°, and make that parallel of latitude our southern boundary to the western limit of the State. The Virginians met this by saying that the parts south of Maryland and the Potomac which it was offered not to "disturb," belonged to the grant to Lord Fairfax, and were as much beyond our reach as any part of Maryland. They therefore proposed to Pennsylvania to make a prolongation of Mason and Dixon's line her southern boundary to the full extent of her five degrees of longitude, saying nothing about a western boundary. The Pennsylvanians acceded to this offer, provided, however, that Virginia would give to them for a western boundary

and running our Southern and Western boundaries with Virginia, in 1784-85, and our Northern with New York, in 1795. He died in 1796.

§ Not the afterwards President of the U. S., but a relative. At this time he was President of William and Mary College, and was afterwards Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia. His father, Gabriel Madison, was clerk of Augusta Courts, in the years of our boundary troubles.

‖ Professor of Mathematics in William and Mary College. A Protestant Episcopal preacher. He and Rev. Mr. Madison served Virginia in determining our boundaries with that State, in 1784-85.

* The correspondence in full is in Hening's (Va.) Statutes at large. Vol. X., 521.

a meridian line clear through to 42°, "which shall include as much land as will make Pennsylvania what it was originally intended to be, viz.: three degress in breadth by five in length, except so much as has been heretofore relinquished to Maryland." The Virginia Commissioners met this by a flat denial of any right of Pennsylvania to compensation, but "that all cause of discord might be removed," offered to relinquish to her all territory west of Maryland down to 39° 30′, to the extent of five degrees of longitude from the Delaware on that half way parallel. The Pennsylvania Commissioners accepted this offer, upon condition that Virginia would allow our western boundary to be a meridian from the end of that parallel, "as far as Virginia extends" northward, that is, clear through to 42°. The Virginia Commissioners could not grant this addition to their half-and-half offer, but proposed the meridian for our western boundary, based upon an extension of Mason and Dixon's line. To this the Pennsylvania Commissioners at once acceeded, and on the self same day the agreement was signed. We may regret that they did not hold on a little longer to 39°, so as to have given us at least the Pan-handle. We, however, have no right to complain. They did exceedingly well. It is presumed that the Commissioners of neither State supposed that our western limit would come so little short of the Ohio, that great natural boundary recognized by every other State than Pennsylvania which its current laves.

It very soon became a question whether this "compromise" did not conduce to more troubles than it cured. The agreement was subject to ratification by the Legislatures of the contracting parties. Pennsylvania, within thirty days after the meeting of her Assembly in October, 1779, gave it her unqualified approval, as well she might do, seeing that it expanded her western limits full half a degree, without any equivalent loss on the south. Virginia saw this, but too late to recede with honor, and being thereunto incited by some of her ceded citizens, held back a while to devise some scheme by which settlers and speculators claiming under her could hold their lands at Virginia prices. To subserve this purpose she, in December, 1779, sent out into the lately disputed and ceded territory three commissioners, "to adjust land titles" therein, under one of her recently enacted statutes, upon *ex parte* hearings. Their sittings were at Coxe's Fort, on the west side of the Monongahela, and at Fort

Burd* (Brownsville), on the east side. No event in the whole controversy so roused the ire of Pennsylvania. Her Executive sent a courteous but decided remonstrance to the Governor of Virginia. It was unheeded. President Reed threatened armed resistance to the intrusion, if not withdrawn. There was imminent danger of a renewal of the strife. Thereupon Congress interposed, with a persuasive resolution for peace, which had a healing effect. But it was not until June, 1780, that Virginia could bring herself to a confirmation of the agreement, and then only by clogging it with a condition as above indicated, so modified, however, as to be effective only in favor of priority of grant or settlement. This was in effect asking Pennsylvania to sanction the usurpations upon her undoubted territory east of the Monongahela, and the grants of her lands therein by the usurper, thereby enabling men who had defied or disowned her rightful jurisdiction to get their lands at ten shillings per hundred acres, while her own grantees would have to pay at the rate of five pounds. She therefore for a while withheld her assent to this appendage to the Baltimore agreement. It had in it some provisions which redeemed it from indiscriminate disapproval. West of the curvilinear line, beyond which Pennsylvania had not claimed, its justice could not be gainsayed, while in its operations east of that line it could be so construed as to protect her own grantees, whose rights had first attached. If not acceded to, Virginia would probably make its rejection a pretext for re-opening the controversy, in the hope of thereby regaining some of the territory she had lost. These views of the situation, and an "earnest desire to promote peace with a sister State," induced Pennsylvania, in September, 1780, to confirm the agreement upon the conditions which Virginia had imposed. And here, so far as the States were concerned, the controversy closed, the last of a series—with Maryland, Connecticut, and Virginia—which Pennsylvania had to encounter to maintain the integrity of her territory. Never encroaching upon her neighbors'

* The sittings of this land commission at Fort Burd has given rise to the statement in many of our histories, beginning, I believe, with Findley's History of the Whisky Insurrection, page 19, that Virginia courts, meaning ordinary county or district courts, sat there, which is an error. No Augusta or West Augusta courts ever sat elsewhere than at Staunton or Pittsburgh, and Fort Burd was on the line between Monongalia and Yohogania.

borders, she has always gained by their intrusions upon hers. The results have added to the many proofs that, in the moral government of the world, the wrongs which communities inflict will be

> "Bloody instructions, which being taught, return
> To plague the inventor ——."

It remained yet to run and mark the lines. This it was intended to do early in 1781, but Virginia being then the seat of war, it had to be postponed. In view of its speedy accomplishment, Pennsylvania, on the 28th of March, 1781, a few days after the first centennial of her own existence, erected all her territory west and south of the Monongahela and Ohio, into the county of Washington—the "first" of names, and the first of counties after the province became a Commonwealth. Until then it belonged to Westmoreland; but its seat of justice was too far off, the antagonisms of its officers and people too inveterate to expect efficient or harmonious action. Virginia began to withdraw her jurisdiction from the disputed and *ceded* territory, but, like a discomfited army, kept up for a while longer a rear guard to cover her retreat. Pennsylvania had to advance with cautious steps. The want of defined lines of dominion on the two Virginia sides of the new county was made the pretext, not only for disaffection, but for absolute denial of duty, civil and military, and for actual violence within many miles of where they would certainly be established. The Executive Council of Pennsylvania did all they could to have them run, beginning their efforts in 1780. The Virginia Executives seemed to co-operate; but multiform excuses and the intrigues and open resistance by the Virginia partizans produced vexatious and disheartening delays. Wrote Thomas Scott, the newly appointed prothonotary, etc., of Washington, October 19th, 1781: "We groan under the difficulty of an unrun boundary." From the first it was intended that the lines, when run, should be permanent; but repeated failures to do so and incessant groanings constrained a resort for a while to *temporary lines*. The new State project, presently to be noticed, and the non-attendance by the Virginia Surveyor, caused still further delays. At length, in November, 1782, when "surly winds made forests bare," they were run and marked, from where Mason and Dixon left off, to the supposed corner, and thence to the

Ohio, by Col. Alexander McClean, the long-time Register, Recorder, and Surveyor of Fayette (then of Westmoreland), and Col. Joseph Neville, of Virginia. Under instructions, based upon Mason and Dixon's computations, they extended the due west line twenty-three miles. It was afterwards found that less than twenty-two miles were wanting to complete the distance of the charter—an error which, as well as perhaps another, in after years caused some losses and litigation.*

It was not until the fall of 1784 that Mason and Dixon's line was permanently completed and marked. The nice point was to fix its western terminus. To do all this some of the most eminently scientific men of the age were employed. On the part of Virginia they were the Rev. Messrs. Madison and Andrews, her negotiators of the Baltimore agreement, united with John Page, afterwards Governor of that State, and with Andrew Ellicott, then of Maryland, who run more boundary lines for States and the Nation than any other man. Pennsylvania appointed her old favorites, the Rev. Dr. John Ewing and Mr. Rittenhouse, joining with them John Lukens, her Surveyor-General, and Thomas Hutchins, afterwards the Geographer General of the United States. They undertook the task, they said, "from an anxious desire to gratify the astronomical world in the performance of a problem which has never yet been attempted in any country, and to prevent the State of Pennsylvania from the chance of losing many hundred thousands of acres secured to it by the agreement at Baltimore."

Mason and Dixon had made their markings from actual measurements upon the ground. It was upon the suggestion of Mr. Jefferson, when Governor of Virginia, that the new "problem" was adopted for determining the distance by astronomical observations. To solve it, two of the artists of each State, provided with the proper astronomical instruments and a good time-piece, repaired to Wilmington, Delaware, near to which, on the line, they erected an observatory. The other four, in like manner furnished, and with commissary, soldiers, and servants, proceeded to the west end of the *temporary line*, where, on one of the highest Fish Creek hills, they also erected a rude observatory. At these stations each party, during

*See Appendix, No. 6.

six long weeks of days and nights preceding the autumnal equinox of 1784, took a series of observations of the immersions of Jupiter's moons and of other celestial phenomena, for the purpose of determining their respective meridians and latitude, and adjusting their time-pieces. This done, one of each party from the eastern station come to the others at the western, and find that their stations are *twenty minutes and one and an eighth seconds* apart. The Wilmington station was 114 (four pole) chains and 13 links west of the Delaware. Knowing that *twenty minutes* of time were equal to *five degrees of longitude*, they make allowance for said 114 chains and 13 links, and for the one and an eighth seconds (equal, they say, to 14 chains and 96 links), and upon these data they shorten back on the line to the exact point, and fix the south-west corner of the State by setting up a square unlettered white oak post, around which they rear a conical pyramid of stones, "and they are there unto this day," on the slope of a deep narrow valley near the Board-tree tunnel of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Upon the completion of the southern line, it became too late in the year to run any part of the western. In the summer of 1785, it was carefully run and marked, to the Ohio River, and some forty or fifty miles beyond it. The Pennsylvania artists were Mr. Rittenhouse and Col. Andrew Porter, who had been commissary to the Western party in 1784—the father of our late ex-Governor, David R. Porter. The Virginia commissioners were Joseph Neville and Andrew Ellicott, the latter acting for Pennsylvania north of the Ohio, where Virginia pretensions ended by reason of her cession of the Northwest Territory to the United States in 1784. It was not until 1786 that the line was completed to the lake by Col. Porter and Alexander McClean. Thereupon, Pennsylvania began negotiations with the United States for the purchase of the Erie Triangle, which New York, in 1781, and Massachusetts, in 1784, had ceded to them, including all their claims west of a meridian passing by the most westerly bent of Lake Ontario. This line was established by Mr. Ellicott in 1790, and the purchase consummated in 1792, at a cost of about $155,000, including what was paid to the Indians. It contains 202,187 acres. In this way has Pennsylvania filled out her fair proportions, and come to possess what no other State has, a port of entry upon one of the great Northern lakes, another at the

head of the Ohio, and yet another at the head of one of the best bays of the Middle Atlantic. We return to our friends over the river.

Within the year preceding the erection of Washington County a great change was coming over the population of Southwestern Pennsylvania. In March, 1780, Pennsylvania passed her "Act for the gradual abolition of slavery." Many of our early settlers had brought their negro slaves with them. Kentucky was then having its turn as the *El Dorado* of the West. Thither many of the best of our pioneer settlers removed, carrying with them from our *new nursery* those germs of religion which, ere long, grew so luxuriantly in that then Virginia county. Not only was the population rapidly changing, but discontent and alarm pervaded our entire territory, especially west of the Monongahela and upon the Allegheny border of Westmoreland. Wrote General Brodhead, then U. S. Commander at Pittsburgh, September 23d, 1780: "The emigrations from this new country to Kentucke are incredible; and this has given opportunity to disaffected people from the interior to purchase and settle their lands." And again, December 7th, 1780: "I learn more and more of the disaffection of the inhabitants on this side of the mountains. The King of Britain's health is often drank in company." He gave it as the opinion of many of his Virginia officers, well acquainted in this part of the country—among them Col. John Gibson—that "should the enemy approach this frontier and offer protection, half the inhabitants would join them."* Their horizon of vision was doubtless limited to Pittsburgh and its immediate surroundings, where there were not many Scotch-Irish Presbyterians at that period. But that there was a deep, lurking leaven of Toryism in these parts in those days is beyond question. Even so late as April 20, 1782, General Irvine, who had been in command at Fort Pitt since November, 1781, a most discreet and able officer, wrote: "I am confident, if this post was evacuated, the bounds of Canada would be extended to the Laurel Hill in a few weeks." This opinion was based not solely upon the disaffection of the people, but also upon the weakness of the governments, State and National. There was a deeply seated, sulky disappointment at having been

* See further as to this in Appendix, No. 1.

abandoned by Virginia to Pennsylvania, which readily soured into aversion to both, and to the United States, who they thought had failed to afford them due protection against the savage foes in their rear. Happily, by the vigilance of the officers in command, and the virtues of those who sustained them, British rule was averted, and the disaffected were forced to take hold upon other schemes that were less obnoxious, but not less destructive of good government. The British power in the East seemed unable to rally from the surrender of Cornwallis, in October, 1781; and the stubborn Scotch-Irish Whigs of Westmoreland and Washington were encouraged to a more vigorous stand, even if they had to rely upon their own resources. It is to them, and to General Irvine, who was Scotch-Irish all over, that Southwestern Pennsylvania is indebted for its survival of the perils and calamities of 1782.

The fitful and careless recession of the old *regime* in civil affairs, and the constantly impeded advances of the new, in the lately disputed and ceded territory, left the people pretty much to the machinations of those whose importance depended upon hindering the growth of their loyalty to Pennsylvania. It required some time to get the machinery of the new county in running order, and men at their places to run it. The old Presbytery of Redstone met for the first time on the 19th of September, 1781, just thirty days before the surrender at Yorktown; and within thirty days thereafter, at the house of David Hoge, at Catfish's Camp, was the first attempt at a court for the county of Washington. The former started on its career in perfect harmony, the latter in discord. The Constitution of 1776 required of all officers, legislative, executive, judicial, and military, an oath or affirmation to "be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," and to do nothing "prejudicial to the Government thereof." The court was held by justices of the peace, elected in the preceding July; and upon the pretext that because the lines were not run, the assumption of power by Pennsylvania was premature, this "iron-clad oath" deterred all the old "gentlemen justices," or any Virginia partizans, from becoming candidates. James Marshall, the newly-appointed Lieutenant of the county, its chief military officer, and its register and recorder, was a sturdy Pennsylvanian. The prothonotary, etc., Thomas Scott, had been almost a martyr for his allegiance. Hence,

the court and the entire military and civil corps were at variance, if not with the majority, at least with the most noisy of the people and their old leaders. Wrote Mr. Scott just after the court: "Our county is unhappily divided into two grand parties—the Pennsylvania and the Virginia—each claiming some special indulgences, the one for their steady attachment to the State, the other for their transfer, as they call it, from the other State." To conciliate the latter party, Daniel Leet, a sober-minded Virginian, and Col. John Canon, not so much so, had been appointed sub-lieutenants, but they refused to qualify and serve. What more could Pennsylvania do than to leave the disease to work its own cure, under the nursing of a steady, decisive, but kindly sway. Just at this juncture there came to her aid an influx of population who were either thoroughly Pennsylvanian, or had no selfish ends to subserve by being anything else. The brunt of the war in the East being over, many of our discharged soldiers there who had fought through their terms of service for almost no pay, and many others who had been connected with the army, were forced to seek new homes in our valleys and hills, now certainly secure against slavery and religious intolerance. They came from the *old nursery* and its transplantations, and from the Cumberland or Kittatinny Valley, and from New Jersey. Like their precursors, they took to the interior. If the outer limbs were disordered, the trunk was sound. Gradually and noiselessly, but surely, by diffusing intelligence and religious principles throughout the body politic, it became restored to healthful action, though not without occasional eruptions, as we will soon see.

Washington county held all its territory, unbroken, until 1788, when Allegheny county was erected. In 1796, Greene was taken from it; and in 1800 another part was taken to make up the county of Beaver. In rapidity of population it outgrew all its compeers.*

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.
* Westmoreland	16,018	22,726	26,392	30,540
Washington	23,866	28,298	36,289	40,038
Fayette	13,325	20,159	24,714	27,285
Allegheny	10,309	15,087	25,317	35,921
Greene	—	8,605	12,544	15,554
Beaver	—	5,776	12,168	15,340

In 1800 Armstrong was formed from parts of Allegheny, Lycoming,

With what capital it started I have not the means of knowing, there being no census until 1790. Upon its erection it was estimated by Col. Marshall to have upwards of 2,500 men fit for military duty. In 1784 he organized its militia into five battalions, of seven and eight companies each, which shows a greater strength at that date than did Westmoreland, including Fayette. If to this we add that it had at least the apostolic number of well organized Presbyterian churches—more than in all Western Pennsylvania besides—we may set it down as being in a pretty safe condition.

The Virginia party maintained its ascendency for two or three years, after which it began to give way. At the October election of 1781, an entire "Virginia ticket" was elected. So in 1782 and 1783. Some of the chosen were good men, but nearly all were very pronounced partizans, a few of them openly hostile to Pennsylvania rule—always excepting James Edgar, whose pre-eminence commanded universal confidence. A decided change in favor of the Pennsylvania party began to manifest itself in 1784, and thence onward increasingly; so much so that in a few years those who had been blatant Virginia partizans were wholly retired, until the new party convulsions, enkindled by love of France and hatred of the excise law, brought them again to the front. Until then—for I do not wish to go down the line any further—a very large proportion of the elective, as well as judicial, officers of the county were Presbyterians, many of whom were, when elected, or afterwards became, ruling elders; one of them, Mr. Marquis, a minister*—pretty un-

and Westmoreland, chiefly the last; and in 1803, Indiana was taken chiefly from Westmoreland, with a part from Lycoming. Fayette was taken from Westmoreland in 1783-84. Prior to 1800, Allegheny included all north of it to Lake Erie.

*	*Sup'm Ex. Council.*	*Assembly.*	*Sheriff.*	*Commissioners.*
1781	*a*Dorsey Pentecost (for two years).	*James Edgar*, Jno. Cannon.	*a*Van Swearingen (elected yearly).	Thomas Crooks, *a John McDowell*, *a*Geo. Vallandingham
1782	.....	*a*Math. Ritchie, *a*W. McCleery.	Do.	*a*Geo. McCormick.
1783	*a*John Neville (for three years).	*a*Math. Ritchie, Jno. Stevenson	Do.	*Demas Lindley.*
1784	.....	The same.	Jas. Marshall.	*Jas. Allison.*
1785	.....	Unknown.	Do.	Jas. McCready.
1786	David Redick	"	Do.	*Jas. Bradford*
1787	(for three years).	"	D. Williamson.	*Thomas Marquis.*

Those in *italics*, as also Wm. McFarland, elected coroner in 1781-82-83,

erring indications of the predominant character of the people. *O si sic omnia!*

As in the economy of the human body, so in the body politic, ill humors sometimes gather at the surface, but dissipate without coming to a head. So it was with the antipathies to Pennsylvania, which were coagulated by the boundary compromise of 1779–80. Among their minor developments was resistance to her military rule; but necessity soon compelled acquiescence. Then to taxation, to which the people of the disputed and ceded territories had been but little accustomed, and from which the compromise provided for their entire exoneration prior to 1781. To this indispensable burden of government, by indulgence and special favor, they gradually became reconciled. In the midst of all these, and while Virginia was slowly and sullenly receding from the new county territory, and Pennsylvania was firmly but kindly advancing to its government, a trouble of more portentous aspect arose. This was the NEW STATE project. Though numbered among the "dead issues" of the past, it has something to do with our subject, and must therefore be noticed. It will be seen to have been not wholly insubstantial.

Soon after the opening of the War for Independence, the Continental Congress, to induce enduring enlistments, promised to officers and men bounties in land, when it had not a rood to give. The great unsettled West was looked to as the source of supply, to be obtained by conquest. This consisted prominently of the valuable territory northwest of the Ohio, to the Mississippi and the lakes, which Great Britain had acquired from France by the treaty of 1763, the

and Wm. McCombs in 1784–85–86, were, or afterwards became, ruling elders; and James Edgar and John McDowell were, in 1783, elected to the Council of Censors—a State revisory body under the Constitution of 1776. Tney, and Matthew Ritchie and James Allison were also Associate Judges, under the Constitution of 1790.

Those marked thus (*a*) had been officers, civil or military, or both, under the Virginia *regime*, all in Yonogania county, except Wm. McCleery, in Monongalia. Col. Marshall, elected Sheriff in 1784–85–86, the County Lieutenant and Register and Recorder of 1781, etc., was the very antipode in party affiliations to Pentecost and Cannon, whom he denominated "ring-leaders of sedition." But he and Cannon got into the same bed in 1794.

settlement of which she had persistently discouraged and forbidden. Among the obnoxious Acts of the British Parliament complained of in the Declaration of Independence, is one "for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring Province, &c., and *enlarging its boundaries*." This was the Quebec Act, and the enlargement was the annexation of this N. W. Territory to Canada, expressly bounding it upon Pennsylvania. Its terrors to many of the colonists, especially to our New England friends, consisted in its spread and toleration of the Roman Catholic religion. This was in 1774, and if not within the bounds of some prior colonial grants, the Parliament had a right to do with it as they pleased; if it was, then upon the revolt of the colonies, England had a right to take it from them if she could. It soon became an apple of discord.

Six of the old thirteen colonies which became states in 1776—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, claimed by charters or otherwise to extend westward to the Pacific, or at least to the Mississippi. New Hampshire and New York had conflicting claims to what in 1792 became the State of Vermont. New York claimed all west of her settlements, between N. Lat. 42° and 45°, that had at any time been conquered and held by the Six Nations of Indians, her constant allies and *proteges*, which included the peninsula between the Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, but which was cut off by the Treaty of Peace of 1783. Massachusetts claimed to cover the same territory. To these we are indebted for the Erie triangle. Connecticut claimed all west of her to the "South Sea;" under which she for a while set up her "town" of Westmoreland, on the East Branch of the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania, and ultimately secured the property in her Western Reserve in Ohio, to the extent of 120 miles west of Pennsylvania, north of 41°. Three of the States—Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Delaware—could have no westward pretensions, and Maryland very little. Pennsylvania had a half-way, or keystone position, between these two classes of states; having valuable territory west of the Atlantic slope, but not reaching very far towards the Mississippi or Pacific, and hedged in on two sides of her southwest angle by what was claimed to be Virginia. She had a perilous and perplexing position.

These great inequalities in territorial areas and pretensions con-

duced to strifes and jealousies between the larger and smaller States, which greatly impaired their vigor in the struggle for Independence, and after it was achieved, gave to the old Continental Congress a foretaste of the angry discussions which the "peculiar institution" has inflicted upon Congress and the country in modern times. Although "these *united* Colonies" had, on the 4th of July, 1776, declared themselves "free and independent States, with full power to levy war, conclude peace, and do all other things which independent States may of right do," including, of course, the right to make conquests of the enemy's territory, and hold it for the good of the whole; yet Virginia, in 1778, in bad faith to her sister States, sent Col. George Rogers Clarke, with Virginia troops, but with boats and munitions of war belonging to the States united, obtained from General Hand at Fort Pitt, to conquer and hold *for herself alone* the Illinois country, part of this same northwest territory. In 1779, she deliberately promulgated the dogma that the United States could "hold no territory but in right of some one individual State," and she and the other large claiming States adhered to it, which was as much as saying to the little States, This is *our* war, not yours—whatever of blood and treasure you expend is to enure solely to our benefit, and to obtain land to reimburse our expenditures, except what we may choose to give you. And if the United States should conquer Canada, Nova Scotia, or Jamaica, they cannot hold them, because forsooth not within the chartered limits of Virginia, or some other State. It was no wonder the war languished.

Just before the Revolution, many new colony schemes sprung up in the West, which were in whole or in part grounded upon the territory north and south of the Ohio, claimed afterwards by Virginia. Dunmore, the King's Vice-gerent, scowled furiously upon any gotten up south of the Ohio, as was Henderson and company's colony of Transylvania, in Kentucky, but rather favored projects of a like nature north of the Ohio, especially those in which he was, or hoped to become, a partner or participant, as he was in the Wabash and Illinois companies under purchases from the Indians. And no doubt Col. Croghan had given to him, and his nephew Connolly, interests, vested or expectant, in his Indian purchase between Raccoon and Pigeon Creek.

The most prominent of these inceptive colonies, and the one

which most nearly concerns us, was the Walpole grant, or Vandalia. Its territory was to be, without defining it minutely: Northwestern Virginia, from Fairfax's stone, through the Forks of Greenbrier and New Rivers to the North Carolina line, and so much of Kentucky as is east of the meridian of the mouth of Sciota, but without trenching upon Pennsylvania. This was in project from 1770 to 1773. Dr. Franklin, then in London, was its earnest and efficient advocate. Upon his advocacy its charter passed the scrutiny of the King's Council against the opposition of Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, which so chagrined him that he resigned. But his system of no new colonies in the west remained, and Lord Chancellor Thurlow took care that the charter should never be sealed. But for this, and the rising revolt of the colonies, the star of Vandalia would now be shining in the galaxy of States, instead of West Virginia, the severance of which is some retribution for the arrogant obstinacy and land greed of the old parent. The new State should have taken the name.

When the Articles of Confederation, proposed in 1776, were from time to time under consideration in Congress and by the States, the four smaller States, especially Maryland, with whom Pennsylvania always acted, and sometimes New York, struggled hard to have a provision incorporated empowering Congress to limit the extent of those that claimed to the Pacific or the Mississippi, but all in vain. The States south of the Potomac, headed by Virginia, always by bluster, and the concurrence of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and sometimes New York, succeeded in preventing it. For this reason it was not until 1781 that the Articles were finally adopted, Maryland, the last, coming in under protest.

It was in the midst of these strifes and struggles that our new State project began to be agitated. Indeed, there is some evidence that it was part of the plot of Dunmore and Connolly to erect a new colony here, taking the Vandalia grant for a nucleus, and annexing to it Pennsylvania west of the Laurel Hill and the Allegheny river, and Ohio west of Sciota, with Pittsburgh as the seat of empire. Be this as it may, no sooner did it seem to be a foregone conclusion by the agreement at Baltimore, that Virginia would have to yield her usurpation, than the scheme was openly avowed. Virginia had so long withheld her conditional ratification of the agreement, that

good men were apprehensive of a re-opening of the strife in perhaps redoubled fury, and the disappointed and designing factionists were encouraged to hopeful exertion. In the meantime, the depopulation and perils of the northern frontier of Westmoreland had driven her courts to become peripatetic, sitting sometimes at Mt. Pleasant and elsewhere, because of the dangers at Hannastown; and petitions were pouring in upon the Assembly of Pennsylvania, asking the erection of a new county—ultimately Fayette—out of all her territory south of the Youghiogheny, into which, as already noticed, Indian aggressions never came after Braddock's war.* A bill to that effect was reported and favorably considered. This seems to have effectually weaned the people in that quarter from the New State project. Pending its final passage, Pennsylvania concluded to accept the conditions which Virginia had imposed, and thus closed the boundary controversy. This turned the necessities for a new county to the west of the Monongahela, and Fayette had to go over until 1783. But "hope deferred" did not sicken her people's allegiance to Pennsylvania. The delays in running the lines were alike the cause and the consequence of further agitations of the New State project. Meetings were held all over the late county of Yohogania to promote it. Petitions were sent down to Congress after the articles of Confederation were adopted, asking the compromise with Virginia to be annulled, and the curvilinear parallel line restored, or that Congress should provide for determining the bounds under one of its granted powers. These were of course unheeded, not even received—Congress no doubt believing they had enough to do without opening a controversy which had been closed.

The agitators were not dismayed by this repulse. A new element to favor the scheme had come to their aid. Early in 1780, New York proposed to surrender to the United States all her territorial claims west of a meridian from 42° to 45°, passing by the most

*It was not because of any "incursions of the savages" into the neighborhood of Laurel Hill Meeting-house, that the members of Redstone Presbytery were prevented from holding their first meeting there on September 19, 1781, according to appointment of Synod, but because of apprehended incursions at or near their homes, west of the Monongahela. Mr. Power, who lived on the eastern side, was not afraid—he was at the meeting at Pigeon Creek. "Old Redstone," 312-13.

westerly bent of Lake Ontario, or at least twenty miles west of Niagara River. This concession was thought, at that time, to be a valuable one, as the United States were hoping to be able to get a boundary in that direction as far north as Lake Nippissing. Failing in that, it would be a good beginning. Thereupon Congress, on the 6th of September, 1780, in an earnest report and resolution, acknowledged the generous offer of New York, and asked the other *States having claims to the western country* to "go and do likewise." And, on the 10th of October of the same year, they supplemented their former resolution by a still more earnest appeal, and an assurance that the territories so ceded should be formed into distinct States, of not less than one hundred, nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square. Other assurances were given, calculated to appease all the States, especially Virginia. Here were New State schemes in abundance, and Pennsylvania had *some* "claims to the western country."

Now, it was not only the late Virginia partizans who were captivated with the hope of a New State. Good and true Pennsylvanians began to favor it. Even so loyal a citizen as Thomas Scott gave it a not unfavorable consideration. In January, 1781, after he had served a term as Councilor for Westmoreland, he wrote to Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council, inquiring whether the resolutions of Congress of September and October, 1780, were understood to embrace Pennsylvania, whether the State would come into the measure, and whether, if it did, would it carry the settled as well as the unsettled parts? "If so," he says, "I believe it will meet but few objections on this side of the mountains. But, should the unsettled parts be relinquished, and the settled parts retained, the people would think themselves intolerably aggrieved. Give up all, and let us take our chance, or keep all, and let us grow, is the cry of many. Others say, let us, by dint of opposition, force our relinquishment to Congress (on their recommendation) by those States (Virginia and Pennsylvania) whose procrastinated quarrel about our country hath hung us up, our wives, children, and livings, an easy prey to the savages these so many years; the settlement whereof hath, in so many instances, been totally neglected, and at best been considered but a mere bye-business. This will at

once reconcile all our territorial differences, and enable us to exert our united strength against our common enemy." After alluding to a memorial which had been prepared to be sent to the Assembly, "respecting the price of our land," he adds, "should that memorial be unsuccessful, I do not think there are many, perhaps not ten men on this side of the mountains, that would not lift arms against the State." *

I have quoted thus copiously from Mr. Scott's letter because it is the most full and candid cotemporary statement extant of the substantial grounds upon which the New State project was, or could be, placed. The two great grievances which it was to cure were, the gross inequalities in the prices of lands which the Virginia condition had established, and the lack of adequate aid from either State, or from the United States, to protect the settlers from the savages. The first was remedied by indefinite and long-extended indulgence for payment—not yet wholly foreclosed; the other was removed by the earnest, if not always effectual, assistance rendered by Pennsylvania and Congress, after Virginia influence had ceased its thwartings. For a while, as we have seen, the great trouble was the delay in running the lines of boundary. But sensible people soon began to see that the delay was not the fault of Pennsylvania. The accession of Gen. Irvine to the chief command at Pittsburgh, from the fall of 1781 to the peace of 1783, was a great relief. He brought order out of confusion, and held the settlers up steadily and hopefully to their own defence. They had become inured to this. They had their block-houses and forts and stations dotted all over the exposed territory, to which their wives and children resorted in times of danger, with vigilant scouts and rangers to patrol the border lines and give the alarm. All they wanted was encouragement and ammunition. They had learned to

> "Front death and danger with a level eye,
> Trust in the Lord, and keep their powder dry;"

and they did it in faith and patience. Going to church with their rifles and powder-horns was no fiction. The interior settlements, though sometimes frightened—as were some of *us* during the late "unpleasantness"—never run, except to the relief of the borderers;

* Pennsylvania Archives, VIII., 713.

and if these sometimes suffered by sudden inroads of the savages, they quickly rallied and returned, or "held the fort" in hope, especially where they had Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to back them up. In spite of all their perils and privations, they grew in strength and population with unprecedented rapidity. During all the perilous years, from 1777 to 1793, I know of no recorded instance of a failure of a church meeting of any kind west of the Monongahela, or east of it either, south of Forbes's road, "by reason of incursions of the savages," except the failures of Presbytery to meet at Laurel Hill, Sewickley, and Mt. Pleasant, in 1781 and 1782, which need not have occurred, except upon the injunction of Laertes, that "best safety lies in fear." There was no need of a New State for these reasons.

Precisely what limits it was proposed to ask for the New State—what territories it was to occupy, has never been disclosed. When first broached, in 1780, it certainly was, in some way, to include as much of Pennsylvania east of the Monongahela as it could get, and all west of that river to the Ohio, and go southward into Virginia as far as one of the rivers Kenhawa, so as to embrace all of the old Indiana, or Traders' grant, and a goodly part of Vandalia, both of which were then plying Congress not to become States, but to have their titles recognized. Northwards it was to take in what is now Ohio, east of the Sciota or Muskingum, but perhaps only as far north as 41°, so as not to interfere with Connecticut's claim. Its promoters saw the importance of conciliating rivals and obtaining allies. East of the Monongahela it must have had trouble to fix its boundaries. It wanted Pittsburgh, and the Forks of Yough wanted it; but Pittsburgh and the people east of it, and southeast of the Youghiogheny, shunned its embraces. Although it began in love of Virginia, finding it unrequited, she, as well as Pennsylvania, was disowned.

In 1782 the most active, if not the most open, promoters of the scheme were Colonels Cannon and Pentecost, each of whom had taken the "iron-clad oath," the former as Assemblyman, the latter as Councilor. Hugh Henry Brackenridge (but then calling himself Hugh Montgomery Brackenridge), the famous but somewhat eccentric lawyer of Pittsburgh, afterwards a judge of the Supreme Court, testified on oath, in July, 1782, that he heard Pentecost "on his

return from Council declare that the line (meaning that with Virginia and this Commonwealth) would never be run, and that *this country* never would be Pennsylvania *or* Virginia, but a *New State*," and that meetings of "a seditious nature" were being held upon anonymous advertisements in his handwriting. Pentecost attempted a noisy disclaimer of this, but thereby afforded only more convincing proof of its verity.*

Up until early in 1782 the scheme had been looked upon as the mere effervescence of maddened Virginia partizans, and a belief indulged that it would soon expire by its own convulsions. The disease now assumed a new diagnosis. As allies, Indiana and Vandalia became more and more hopeless. Virginia assailed them with vindictive fury, and Congress at last turned them over to her for redress. Virginia had offered to cede to the United States the Northwest Territory, but with valuable reservations, and upon condition that all her territorial claims southeast of the Ohio should be guaranteed to her by Congress, which it had refused to do. This made her cause somewhat unpopular, and the territory northwest of the Ohio began to be looked upon as an easy prey to adventurers of every kind who could get a footing upon it. But in any event, the peninsula west of the Monongahela must go with it. This secured, the scheme could go north, south, east, or west, "for quantity." It was not until 1784, after Virginia had withdrawn her condition of guaranty, that the offered cession to the United States of the Northwest Territory was accepted and consummated. For a while it seemed almost to have no owner. Even Virginia had persistently voted in Congress to relinquish to Great Britain all of it north of a line from the mouth of Miami of the Lake to the Illinois, and thence down that river to the Mississippi. It was the Northern and Middle States that saved to the Union Michigan and Wisconsin, and those goodly parts of Illinois and Minnesota.

In April, 1782, General Irvine wrote to Governor Harrison, of Virginia, and again, in May, to the Executive Council of Pennsylvania—"An expedition much talked of is to *emigrate* and set up a New State. A day is appointed to meet for the purpose. A certain Mr. Johnston, who has been in England since the commencement

* Pennsylvania Archives, IX, 572-662.

of the present war, is at the head of the emigrating party, and has a form of constitution ready for the new government. I am well informed he is now in the East trying to procure artillery and stores. Some think he is too trifling a being to be worthy of notice. Be this as it may, he has many followers. And it is highly probable that men of more influence than he are privately at work. Should they be so mad as to attempt it, I think they will either be cut to pieces or be obliged to take protection from and join the British. Perhaps some have this in view, though the great majority are, I think, well meaning people, who have at present no other views than to acquire large tracts of land."* And so late as September, 1782, in Instructions to Major Craig, whom he was leaving in temporary command of Fort Pitt, he warned him that "there are men in this country who are not too good, in order to favor a scheme of a New State, to devise plans to get possession of this post, particularly the stores," and that alarms might be got up on purpose to get volunteers *in* whom he would find difficulty to get *out*.*

At what point the new government was to be "set up" has not been revealed. It was somewhere on the Muskingum, as the Tuscarawas branch was then called, recently depopulated by the disgraceful slaughter of the Moravian Indians, in Williamson's expedition, and the terrible failure of Crawford's campaign. That very region had been impliedly set apart by Congress to fulfill its promises of bounty lands to officers on Continental establishment; and if, as now seemed probable, it was part of the scheme to take from Pennsylvania her ungranted territory west of the Allegheny, it would be robbing her of what she had set apart as donations to her soldiers, and to redeem their depreciation certificates. The scheme had become alarming.

It must be borne in mind that up to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in 1788–89, there was no positive prohibition, by statute or constitution, of a New State anywhere upon the public domain, or that of any one or more of the States. Kentucky and Vermont had set up for States, and persisted until 1792, when they were admitted—a slave State to counterbalance a free one—thereby becoming precedents for like enterprizes in modern times, which

* "Olden Time," II., 537, and Irvine Papers, MSS.

Congress has recognized as constitutional. Hence, there was no criminality, moral or political, in such schemes, except so far as they assailed the sovereignty of the States to be affected by them. And this, it was supposed, might be readily condoned under the spirit of the resolutions of Congress of 1780.

Opportunely, at this crisis, a Court of Congress, under one of the Articles of Confederation, which sat at Trenton, had just decided unanimously in favor of Pennsylvania, as against the claim of Connecticut, thereby impliedly affirming her right to all the territory within her charter, even as against the royal grants to older colonies. And to crush out all such schemes of intrusion or dismemberment, present or future, she, by an act passed December 2d, 1782, declared that every attempt to set up a New State, in whole or in part, upon her territory, should be *treason*. Matters were now becoming serious.

It was to feel the pulse of the people on our Western borders on this wild and now illegal scheme, and if possible dissuade them from its further pursuit, that the Rev. James Finley was, in the spring of 1783, sent out by the State among them. His appointment was procured at the instance of John McDowell, the member of Council for Chester County,* who certified that he was a proper person to employ, being well acquainted with most of the principal people, was expected there this spring, and could therefore act without being suspected of being in the service of the State. He accordingly came, in March, armed with a hundred copies of the Act of December, 1782, before referred to, of another Act for disposing of the donation and depreciation lands when acquired from the Indians, and of a Proclamation embodying the decision against Connecticut. In his report to the Executive Council, dated "Cecil County, Maryland, April 28, 1783," he says he was six weeks in

* Misled by identity of names, in an article from my pen on this subject with others, formerly published, I inadvertently said that this was John McDowell of Chartiers, who was never a member of the Supreme Executive Council of the State. And here I correct an error into which Dr. Creigh's printer of his History of Washington County, page 252, has fallen, by putting members of *Assembly* under the heading of "Representatives to the Supreme Executive Council," and omitting the latter altogether, who were: 1781, Dorsey Pentecost; 1783, John Neville; 1786, David Redick; 1789, and last, Henry Taylor.

the disaffected country—that east of the Youghiog*anni* (in the Fayette part), the inhabitants being mostly opposed to the New State, he passed them by. "A considerable number of those between said river and the Monongahela, as well as a great part of Washington County, I found to be fond of it, being misled by a few aspiring and, I suspect, ill-designing men, or by men who had not thoroughly considered the whole matter, which latter was the case of *some of the clergy*." His modes of operation were to caution the people after sermons, talk to the "ministers and other gentlemen," and write argumentatively and persuasively to others, but never disclosing his agency. "The New State's men alleged I was too officious—the law intimidated and discouraged the populace—even the ringleaders were for eating in their own words." He hoped he had done some good, "yet the people seemed rather hushed than convinced." He feared that, being disappointed as to a New State, they would try to evade the payment of a tax, unless in flour, to be run, he suggested, by a State agent to New Orleans, for, says he, "those settlements are nearly destitute of cash."* This was advising the very measure of relief which Robert Morris had proposed in 1782, but which Pentecost had openly resisted.

Now, it is presumed that Mr. Finley's conferences with *the clergy* west of the Monongahela were chiefly, if not wholly, with Presbyterians—McMillan, Smith, Dod, and Clark. Does he mean that some of them had been misleading the people? His language looks that way. And if they did so because they "had not thoroughly considered the whole matter," who can blame them? It was a captivating scheme, and, until recently, not forbidden. And if they had not been as "wise as serpents" to discern its seditious origin and the mischiefs it would work, it was perhaps because they were as "harmless as doves." Be this as it may, the project quickly died out, and disaffection receded, until again provoked to action in other forms by other influences and other laws, soon to be considered. And yet, in looking back upon the New State project, one may be pardoned for at least a half-drawn sigh at its decapitation. With Pittsburgh for its capital, so natural as to seem to have been made for it, how cosily would it have sat in the sisterhood of States.

* Pennsylvania Archives, X., 40-44.

The decade of years that followed the demise of the New State embryo was a period of comparative quiet and good order in all the counties, new and old, of Western Pennsylvania—marked improvement upon the like period which preceded it. Many of the late disturbers of the peace gradually went off into the further West, giving place to a more desirable influx of people from the southeastern and interior counties of the State, from New Jersey, and from Ireland and Scotland. Even Pentecost, who, to conciliate himself and his friends, had been, in 1783, appointed to the Presidency of the Courts of Washington County, after two or three years of brooding over his fallen estate, retired in disgust to a neighboring State, without the courtesy to his late colleagues in council of sending them his resignation. No muffled drum was beat upon the going of these factionists, and if more of them and their followers had gone it would have been all the better for the fair fame of the country they left. They could not, however, have taken away all the elements of discord and distrust which had become inherent in the very being of our settlements. For I have come far short of the aim of much of the preceding sketches, if it has not been made manifest that there were many of our early settlers who had an ineradicable aversion to the burdens of government; and that many more, even the best of them, were ever ready to challenge whatever came in the form of questionable taxation, especially if such were formulated after any English model, from some of which they had fled, and others of which they had just successfully resisted.

The war for Independence had resulted in its achievement, but it lingered long in the demoralization it had wrought, and in the crushing load of debt which it had incurred. The West did not escape the one, nor shun its share of the other. But it claimed that, in bearing its part of the burden of taxation, it should be put at least upon an equality with the more favored seaboard settlements. A disregard of this—perhaps unintentional—was among the most potent of the provocations to that great social convulsion, dignified in history as the "*Western Insurrection*," which, at the close of the decade we have been last considering, "reared its miscreated front athwart" the paths of our peace and good name. As a distinct deformity, when traced to its parentage,

it will be found to be an offspring of Debt and Whiskey, then, as now,

"——— the direful springs
Of woes unnumbered ———;"

but as to the principles, or, if you please, the prejudices, which engendered it, it will be found, though not to be justified in its vagaries and excesses, yet entitled, if not to commendation, still to some palliation for the spirit in which it originated. For in its beginnings it was a gentle, though sometimes dashing, current of opposition to a most unequal, slavish, and oppressive mode of taxation. That in the end it became a roaring, destructive flood, was owing to an afflux of influences, which the times and the temper of the people combined with the mistakes of the government to foment and swell.

Excise, as a specific form of taxation, is one that is levied upon the products of home manufacture, generally at the places where produced, or first exposed to sale. It differs from *impost duty*, or a tariff, which is exclusively upon foreign importations, and from a *direct tax*, which is upon landed property. From the very nature of an excise tax it demands for its levy and collection a systematized espionage upon the industries of the people from whom it is to be drawn. In every country where it has ever been resorted to it has had a demoralizing influence, always conducing to either resistance or evasion, of which the course of events in our own country now affords humiliating proofs. To resist or elude it is one of the hereditary prerogatives of an Irishman, be he Protestant or Catholic. To kill an exciseman has been reckoned an ample expiation for a multitude of sins. By every native of the Emerald Isle it is regarded as the most humiliating badge of subjection which England has ever imposed, and if the parents have nothing else to transmit to their posterity, they bequeath to them, unto the third and fourth generation, a hatred of excise laws, and of all who make or enforce them. Nor was it much better in Scotland.*

* Burns' ready genius never conceived a more popular song than—

"The diel cam' fiddling through the town,
And danced awa' wi' the Exciseman;
And ilka wife cries—'Auld Mahoon,
I wish you luck o' the prize, man!'

If such were the antipathies to excise by those of our people who were of Scotch and Irish lineage, what could we expect of those of them who had come from Virginia and Maryland, and their descendants? These had never taken kindly to taxation in any form; and neither they nor their ancestry in the colonies whence they came, had ever heard of excise, except in the tales that were told of its extortions and evasions. That it had ever been a Pennsylvania measure was enough to condemn it in their estimation. Our scattered German settlements regarded it as a rather searching mode of impairing their thrift and lusty convivialties; while our few Quaker friends, though non-resistants, were not unwilling to be conformists to the popular feeling. So that taking Western Pennsylvania as a whole, the attempt to erect upon it an excise system was like setting up a column on the side of a volcano. Sooner or later an eruption must come, and the structure topple and fall.

After the long, and I fear fatiguing, rambles through which I have been leading you, and when they ought to be coming to a speedy close, a full narration of the immediate causes, the events and the consequences, of this once-renowned insurrection, will be neither expected nor attempted. All who in any way participated in it have passed away beyond the reach of human censure or applause, and were glad, while they lived, to have it forgotten. Respect for their memories would seem to require that it be allowed to rest undisturbed, under the cover of oblivion which time has spread over it. Many of them were, perhaps, conscious of having done some wrong without knowing why they did so. Others, and they the greater number, who had no such compunctions, were unable, had they attempted it, to rescue themselves from the load of indiscriminate opprobrium which was cast upon them from distant and high places. They had

> "We'll mak our maut, we'll brew our drink,
> We'll dance and sing, and rejoice, man;
> And mony braw thanks to the meikle black diel
> That danced awa' wi' the Exciseman."

And yet, at the very time the poor fellow composed this snatch, he was being compelled to play Exciseman, to eke out a subsistence for his family at £50 a year; consoling himself for the degradation by saying, "I would much rather have it said that my profession borrowed credit from me, than that I borrowed credit from my profession."

been borne into it and through it, on a resistless current, which sprang not from any purpose to sever the Union, or defy its government, nor yet from the mere odium of a name, but from substantial injustice and oppression. They had met and expressed their opposition to the law, and sent petitions for its repeal. Their petitions were unheeded, their meetings denounced as treasonable. Obnoxious men were set over them to assess and collect the tax, and because a few of the baser sort maltreated them, the whole community, even our magistrates and ministers, were stigmatized by high officials as aiding and abetting the violence. For the persistent and judicious efforts by many of the best of the people to calm the rage of the flood, and hush its roar, they were branded as accessories to its fury. And when they had almost succeeded—when the waters had assuaged, and the dove was on her way with the olive-leaf of peace, an army greater than had fought the fiercest battles of the Revolution was marched out, and after staying a few days, and finding that "order reigned in Warsaw," they marched home again, taking with them as criminals—not the leaders of the tumult, for they had nearly all escaped—but many of the very men who had labored the wisest, if not the noisiest, to sustain the government which accused them, driven like cattle through mud and cold to Philadelphia, and paraded through its streets with ignominious badges upon their hats, imprisoned, then discharged, or tried and acquitted. And because the distillers at length got protection, and a favoring conjuncture of events—the subjugation of the Indians by Wayne's legions, and the opening and security of the navigation of the Mississippi—brought relief, all these things were used as proofs that their resistance had been rebellion, and their complaints groundless. Those who did undertake to narrate the "incidents" of the commotion, or write its "history," were themselves deeply implicated; and what they wrote was less to vindicate the people than to exculpate themselves and abuse their political opponents. These questionable forms of defence were confronted by seemingly calm, elaborate, and ingeniously constructed State papers, penned by the Secretary of the Treasury, upon partizan views, and partizan, often illusive, testimony; and from these our standard histories have been composed; and at least one generation of the men and women of "the four counties" held up to the world as having been so frenzied by

the love of whiskey as to become "regardless of social duty, and fatally bent upon mischief," fanatics, and traitors.*

It is not for me to undertake here and now to relieve an important period of our early history from this incubus of obloquy. But as at least a minor object of this Convention is to set the fathers and founders of Western Pennsylvania in their true positions, social and political as well as in others, some memorial of how they stood in that one which was the most anomalous, and has been most misrepresented of any that they had to occupy, will not be inappropriate to the occasion. For if they were bad citizens they could not have been good men.

A credulous reading of current histories, and of more or less ephemeral publications based upon them, had led me to believe that in this most extraordinary social convulsion the people were wholly wrong and the government wholly right. A more careful study of it, in the light of antecedent, as well as of cotemporaneous collateral events, and of original documents, has convinced me that there were wrongs on both sides, consequential and transient on the one side, causal and persistent on the other. That the Acts of Congress which developed it, the warnings which attended its progress, and the measures which consummated its suppression, had the sanction of Washington's great name, are enough alone to make any right-minded man pause in questioning their perfect propriety. But all that he did was done as official duty. He approved the laws

* It will be understood that the references in this paragraph are to the publications by the Messrs. Brackenridge—father and son, William Findley, and Albert Gallatin, on the one side; and to the Reports of Alexander Hamilton, Marshall's Life of Washington, and Hildreth's History of the United States, to which should be added Mr. Neville B. Craig's publications, on the other side. Much the fairest, though not the fullest, of all the publications I have seen, is a paper read before the New Jersey Historical Society (published in its Proceedings, Vol. VI., 120), by the late Rev. Dr. Carnahan, President of the College at Princeton. Being a native of Western Pennsylvania, an ear and eye witness of many of the occurrences of the "Insurrection," his statements are reliable, and his views impartial. I am glad to be able, generally and in the main, to concur with him. Important disclosures from records, and many right deductions from them, have been made by Mr. Townsend Ward, formerly Librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in a paper read before it, published in its Memoirs, Vol. VI., 119.

because the Congress had passed them and the Constitution authorized them; he warned the transgressors because the law made it his duty to warn them; and he hurled the power of the Government upon them because it was one of the sworn duties of his high office to "take care that the law be faithfully executed." There is some evidence in his writings* that he questioned the expediency of an Excise law, because, as claimed by its opposers, it was "of odious character with the people, partial in its operations, unproductive, unless enforced by arbitrary and vexatious means, and committing the authority of the Government in parts where resistance is most probable, and coercion least practicable." No language could better than this depict it in its bearings upon Southwestern Pennsylvania, in 1792. That the President dealt, in the end, surpassing clemency to its transgressors, is further proof that he did not deem their sin very heinous.

That it was "of odious character with the people" is already abundantly obvious, especially with those who have Scotch or Irish blood in their veins. Even in England, whence we imported it, Dr. Johnson, the prince of Tory lexicographers, defines it to be "a hateful tax." Sir William Blackstone, no great stickler for liberal laws, writes of it in his Commentaries as "odious," and "hardly campatible with the temper of a free nation." A higher authority than these, with all true Americans, was the Continental Congress of 1774, which denounced it as the "horror of all free States—the most odious of taxes."

That an excise system, at the period to which we refer, must needs be "unequal in its operation," is no less obvious than its inherently odious character. Especially was this true as to Pennsylvania. As in the times of the New State agitation, it held a peculiar position, so now. Up until near the close of the last century it was the only State that had any surplus grain-producing territory west of the mountains. Kentucky, Western Virginia, and the Northwest Territory formed no exceptions; they were consumers

* The President's Proclamation of September 15, 1792, which was drafted by Secretary Hamilton, had in it, that the Excise laws were "*dictated by weighty reasons of public exigency and policy.*" The President struck that out. See the Proclamation, etc., in Sparks' Washington, X., 532, and 530, 250.

rather than producers. This region of country was specially adapted to the production of grains. Indeed it produced nothing else that was marketable, except beeswax, ginseng, and snake root. Spirits—whiskey and brandies—were the distillates of grains, apples, and peaches. They could have no commercial value without remunerative access to the marts of trade and commerce, and of these we had none. Almost impassible mountain barriers shut us off from the eastern markets. Freights, whether by wagon or pack-horse, rated at from five to ten dollars per hundred pounds. To "go west" with any of our surplus products was so perilous by reason of the Indians, and so precarious by reason of the uncertainties of sale, as to be tantamount to the hazards of a lottery; or if run to the Spanish possessions on the lower Mississippi, liable to loss on the way, or confiscation if reached. Assuredly the people of Western Pennsylvania were not fit subjects for an excise law.

The Federal Constitution requires that "all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;" but it does not require them to be *specific*, that is, a uniform rate upon the taxable article, irrespective of its relative value. Direct taxes, and, to a large extent, imposts, are not so levied. Unfortunately for the fairness and justice of the tax we are about to consider, it was made to be specific in its most objectionable form, thereby not only giving to it an odious name and mode of collection, but excluding any equity of apportionment, according to the relative values of distilled spirits as between one part of the country and another. Improved land in Westmoreland could be assessed at five dollars per acre, in Lancaster at fifty, and a per centage of taxation be just and fair. But a tax of seven cents per gallon on whiskey made in Chartiers was *one-fourth* of its value, while if made on the Brandywine it was perhaps less than *an eighth*. There it was a product of profit, here of necessity. It was almost the only form of surplus product we had which could be pack-horsed across the mountains, and with it or its proceeds procure iron, salt, powder, and lead, and the other necessaries of life and agriculture. And when salt was five dollars per bushel, and iron and steel from twenty to thirty cents per pound, a few kegs of whiskey was a treasure. To impair it was assailing the very vitals of our being; for Shylock reasoned well—

"—— You take my life
When you do take the means whereby I live."

As for money we had no other resort than what was picked up from emigrants to the further west, or saved from the proceeds of a venture to Carlisle, or Winchester, or New Orleans; and for all this, and more if they could have gotten it, our people had inexorable demands. As to Western Pennsylvania, therefore, in its isolated, necessitous condition, the excise was clearly partial, unequal, and inequitable; for "equality is equity," and there could be no equality between it and any other whiskey-producing community in the nation.

In primitive times in this country, when coin was almost unknown and paper money valueless, whatever was most abundant, if portable and not perishable, and ultimately convertible into cash, became the standard of value — the currency of the community; just as in the Indian trade it was ten buck-skins for a match-coat, five doe-skins for a calico shirt, or three fawn-skins for a pound of lead. So it was in our early settlements—five pounds of ginseng for a wool hat, ten of beeswax for a straw bonnet, three gallons of whiskey or applejack for a quarter of tea. A hundred gallon copper still would buy a good farm, two barrels of whiskey a corner lot, a five-gallon keg for a pound of powder, five barrels for a rifle gun. To tax it, therefore, was adding twenty-five per cent. to these prices. Moreover, men could not see any more justice in taxing their grain in the shape of whiskey than if in flour or meal. A still-house was just as much a necessity as a mill. The consequence of this state of things was, that distilleries were dotted all over the country. I think I have seen it stated that there was at one time, in all the four western counties, five hundred and seventy-two. In some neighborhoods every fifth or sixth farmer was a distiller, who, during the winter seasons, manufactured his own and his neighbors' surplus grain into whiskey, "on the shares," so much whiskey returned for a given quantity of grain or rye-meal supplied. But then they were small concerns, sometimes of one little still, but oftener of two, one for singlings, the other for doubling; hundreds of them not making as much in a season as is now made by one of our modern mammoth distilleries. But then they made a better article. It was not, as now, made to kill. It established a name and a

reputation for the commodity, which it will perhaps never lose, whether made on the Monongahela or the Wabash. Often the stills were set up in the cellar of the house in which the family resided, or in some contiguous out-house, the same spring supplying the milk-house and the worm-tub; and the kegs and barrels stored away under the porch, in a cave, or in the spring-house, with the cider and vinegar, or cream crocks, as convenience demanded. To have a gauger smelling and spiering round among these with his rod and note-book, was rather more than a Scotch-Irish woman could stand, whether by day or by night.

As a luxury in drink, our Eastern friends could have their wines, which were unknown here, except for sacred use, and then not always to be had.* Our whiskey, either "straight" or with maple sugar, tansy, and mint, or as decoctions of herbs and barks and roots, was esteemed a cure "for all the ills that flesh is heir to." It was the indispensible emblem of hospitality, and accompaniment of labor in every pursuit; the stimulant in joy, the solace in grief. It was kept on the counter of every store, in the corner cupboard of every well-to-do family. It was bitters in the morning, an appetizer at noon, a night-cap at night. The minister took it before going to church and after he came back. At home and abroad, at coming and going, at marryings and buryings, at house-raisings and log rollings, at harvestings and huskings, in the varying forms of drams, egg-nogg, apple-toddy, and punch, hot and cold, it was the omnipresent beverage of old and young, men and women; and he was a churl who stinted it. To deny it altogether required more grace or niggardliness than most men could command, at least for daily use.

And yet our forefathers were not drunkards. Ordinarily they had not time to get drunk, and constant bodily exercise and "homely fare" neutralized the intoxicating virus. Except on

* "I have been asked by a Presbyterian minister, and some of his people, to request you to spare one gallon of wine for the use of a Sacrament. If it is in your power to supply them with this article, I have no doubt you will do it, as it cannot be obtained in any other place in this country. Mr. Douglas, or the bearer, will apply for it." MS. *Letter, Col. James Marshall to General William Irvine, Pittsburgh, dated Washington County, 29th May*, 1782.

special occasions, a drunken man was as rare as a spotted horse. Laboring men—and everybody, even the minister and the lawyer, labored in the olden time—lived out their three score and ten, and took their drinks as regularly as their meals. True, there were topers who were always drunk, and did nothing else. They were loathed and despised. There were no saloons and sample-rooms in those days; and taverns were not the resorts of the neighbors except to hear the news of the day, which it was the business of the landlord to deal out along with a half-pint of his best, for two and sixpence, according to the court rates. If these habits were wrong, an excise law was not their corrective. "Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook?"

Nor were they laggard or obstinate in the payment of all the ordinary taxes assessed upon them. Indeed, they were commendably prompt in this respect, more so than were the people in many of the Eastern counties.* And taxes were by no means light in those times. Not only had the county and township taxes to be met, but the United States, having no source of revenue under their control, were dependent upon loans at home and abroad, upon their paper promises, known as continental money, and, in large measure, upon *quotas*, as they were called, apportioned among the States, and by the States among the counties. This was levied chiefly as a *direct* tax, which, of course, could be adjusted according to valuations. In this respect, therefore, there was no lack of loyalty to either the State or the nation. In resisting the excise tax they struck for principles, not amounts.

These are general views of the situation. Under whatever of light they afford, let us look more closely at some of the specific grievances,

* "COMPTROLLER GENERAL'S OFFICE,
September 9, 1786.

"SIR: The honorable situation in which the county of Fayette is placed by the punctual discharge of her taxes, reflects high credit upon the officers employed in the laying, collecting, and paying the same, as well as upon the county at large. May you long continue. Your example will have a good influence upon others. The bearer is riding the State for money, but from you we ask none. You have anticipated our demand. I am, &c.,

"JOHN NICHOLSON.

"Ephraim Douglass, Esq.,
Treas'r Fayette county."

and of the proximate causes and immediate occasions of the "Insurrection."

We need have no detailed narrative of why and how it was that Pennsylvania had excise laws. It is enough here to know that we had them, and that we stood alone in this respect among all the neighboring States. Those which were enacted before the Revolution no otherwise concern us than in the trainings to aversion and evasion which they gave to many of our early settlers. It was not until it became incumbent to provide for the debts which the war had incurred, that they were extended to the western counties. But finding them obnoxious and likely to revive the late disaffection, there was no attempt to enforce them.

Efforts were made to collect some without compulsion, but with very discouraging results. They brought not a dollar to the treasury; all that was obtained by compoundings and extortion having been appropriated by the collectors for their compensation. The trouble was to get honest and efficient collectors. Some who were honest, after repeated trials and troubles, gave it up, resigned or absconded. We had plenty of good and competent men, but no inducement was strong enough to overcome their abhorrence of the service. The whole excise system became a mere slumbering monster, to be watched and shunned.

The immunity thus enjoyed by the western counties gave a pretext to those of the east to grumble and hold back. This excited the Executive Council of the State to try us again. In 1785 they sent out, as collector of the three counties, a broken down Philadelphia Market Street tavern-keeper, by the name of Graham. He collected some in Fayette without any obstacle. He then went to Westmoreland and got a little there. But, in the darkness of night, at his hotel, he was called to the door of his room by a man in disguise, who told him he was Beelzebub, and had called for him to hand him over for torment to a legion of devils who were in waiting without. He managed, with assistance, to escape their clutches; and thinking he had found the fiend in a man of the town, he prosecuted him, but the man proved an *alibi*. Whereupon the discomfited exciseman, fearing that some other deil might "dance awa'" with him, fled with all convenient speed into what he was told was the more sober and submissive county of Washington, then covering

all west of the Monongahela. There he fared worse than at Greensburgh. His treatment is described so graphically, and in terms so *apropos* to our purpose, by Dorsey Pentecost, in a letter to the State Executive Council, dated April 16, 1786, that I cannot do better than copy from it:

"His pistols, which he carried before him, were taken and broken to pieces in his presence; his commission and all his papers torn and thrown in the mud, and he forced to stamp on them, and imprecate curses on himself, on his commission, and on the authority that gave it to him. They then cut off half his hair, cued the other half on one side of his head, cut off the cock of his hat, and made him wear it in a form to render his cue the more conspicuous. This, with many other marks of ignomy, they imposed upon him [and his horse], and in that plight marched him, amidst a crowd, from the frontiers of this county to Westmoreland, calling at all the still-houses on the way, where they were treated *gratis*, exposing him to every insult and mockery that their invention could contrive. They set him at liberty at the entrance of Westmoreland county, but with threats of utter *desolution* should he dare to return to our county."*

The locality of this precedent for other similar outrages upon excisemen, in after years, is said to have been out here in the good Scotch-Irish Presbyterian neighborhood of Cross Creek, the home of Col. James Marshall and James Edgar, which may account for the fiery zeal of Pentecost to emblazon it, and invoke the "most severe punishment" on the offenders. Graham never returned, except to institute a prosecution for riot against twelve of the "banditti" in the court at Washington, of which they were, in due time, convicted, but afterwards pardoned so far as to remit the fines imposed. If I mistake not, one of these offenders—meritoriously, I presume—rose, in after years, to high places in Washington county, representing it in the Assembly, and eventually in Congress.† The excise officers were beginning to fare not much better in other parts of the State, when, by the organization of the Federal Government in 1789–'90, it was kindly (?) taken off our hands, whereupon the law was repealed.

* Pennsylvania Archives, X., 757.

† Colonial Records, XVI., 24, and Creigh's History of Washington County, 78.

Excise was a favorite financial measure with Alexander Hamilton, whom President Washington called to the head of the Treasury Department. He was a bold, ambitious, and able man, but perhaps cared more for the success of his measures in Congress than with the people. Washington had great confidence in him, and justly, for perhaps, at that vital juncture, there was no other man in the nation who could so resolutely and so well have reduced our confused and crippled financial condition to order and activity. Like the great Earl of Chatham, he touched the corpse of public credit and it rose in health and vigor. But then he burdened it too heavily, and was too anxious for a hasty display of its restoration. Had he withheld any scheme of domestic excise until the equilibrium of the country in the relations of its diverse parts had been better established, and the people become inured to the workings of a stronger government than they had been accustomed to, all his measures, this one especially, would have fared better, the peace of the country been maintained, and the party, of which he was then the acknowledged head, had a longer supremacy. But he rushed boldly on, impelled to a more heady movement by the antagonisms he had to encounter, which were controlled by his hated rival, Mr. Jefferson, and fostered by the phrenzy which revolutionary France, on the one hand, and stubborn England on the other, combined to diffuse in angry clouds all over the country.

A bill which provided for the collection of revenue from domestic distilled spirits was introduced into the Second Session of the First Congress, which sat at New York in 1790. It led to long, earnest, and angry discussion; and failing then of enactment, was adjourned to the Third Session of that Congress, which sat at Philadelphia in 1791. Before this the Pennsylvania Legislature had unwittingly repealed her *direct* tax, leaving her excise law unrepealed a little longer on her statute book, though virtually repealed by the inability to enforce it, and by its supercedure under the Constitution of the United States.

The Excise Act of Congress became a law on the third of March, 1791. While pending, the Legislature of Pennsylvania took the alarm; and, in January, 1791, passed a series of resolutions, condemning an excise law on domestic products as "subversive of peace, liberty, and the rights of the citizens," and sending to their

senators a *hope* (for *instructions* had not yet come in vogue) that they would oppose *every part* of the bill which militated against those rights—for the bill was an "omnibus" revenue bill, of sixty-two sections, relating as well to "distilled spirits imported from abroad" as to "spirits distilled within the United States, and *appropriating the same*"—one of the earliest precedents for joining incongruous subjects in the same law. But for this, and for the commendable and needy objects to which the expected revenues were devoted, including the war debts of the States which Congress had assumed, it is believed it could not have commanded a majority of votes in either House, or the approval of the President. But it passed, and was approved; and, of course, had to be enforced—if it could be—in all its heterogeneous provisions, and in all places of the country.

To comprehend the forms and growth of the convulsions it provoked, we must first take in such of the provisions as shaped them. Including some modifications in 1792, they are the following:

That the United States should be divided into fourteen *districts*, each under the control of a supervisor—each State into *surveys*, under the control, each, of an inspector (the four western counties, and the Somerset part of Bedford, were the fourth Surveys of Pennsylvania)—each *county* to have at least *one office of inspection*—each Survey to have as many other *officers* as the President should deem it advisable to employ, or the supervisor to appoint, for entering, inspecting, gauging, watching, etc. Every person owning a still, whether for sale or use, was required, in the month of June yearly, or if procured after June, by purchase, or removal into the county, then within thirty days thereafter, under the penalty of one hundred dollars (increased in 1792 to two hundred and fifty dollars), to make *entry* of his still or stills, and of what he intended to do with them, at the office of inspection for the county; if to be used for distilling (of which, having it set up in stone, brick or otherwise so as to be used, was made evidence) he had his option either to pay yearly sixty cents (reduced in 1792 to fifty-four cents, or ten cents per month) per gallon of the capacity of the still, including its head, or *nine* cents (reduced in 1792 to seven) per gallon of spirits distilled and of sales thereof, of which the distiller was to render sworn accounts from a book of daily entries. If the still exceeded

the capacity of fifty gallons, and the place to be used was within ten miles of an office, the distiller was bound, under another penalty of one hundred dollars, and forfeiture of liquor and casks, within three days of his beginning to use it, to make a particular entry in writing of every house, vault, cellar, or apartment in which he intended to carry on the business, or keep any of the spirits distilled; and to have *distiller of spirits* written or painted on every such place of distillation or deposit. If, when the act went into effect, any person, who had previously been a distiller, had any liquor on hand, he must report the same to the inspector, and have the casks containing it marked *old stock*, which he was not allowed to keep on hand over a year, unless in vessels containing at least two hundred gallons [poor chance for old whiskey]. Every cask containing twenty gallons or upwards (and none that contained less) must be gauged, marked, and, when sold or removed, be accompanied by a certificate of tax paid—no removals between sunset and sunrise—and gaugers to have access at all times, in daylight, to enter the places "entered" as aforesaid, and "by tasting, gauging, or *otherwise*," take an account, and samples "at the usual price."

The entire law is full of snares and pitfalls to entrap the unwary, and bristles all over with forfeitures and penalties; but as an attempt to enforce only one of these—the penalty of $250 for non-entry of stills, &c., in June—was the immediate occasion of the resistance, all others may be passed by without further notice.

Soon after the passage of the Act of 1791, General John Neville was appointed Inspector of the Survey. That he was honest and capable is unquestioned; and yet a more unfortunate appointment could hardly have been made. His friends claim that he was surpassingly kind and generous, and that "if any man could have executed this odious law he was the man." His enemies, on the other hand, assert "that his former popularity had made his acceptance of that office particularly offensive," and that he was "cunning, vindictive, and selfish." The solution of this paradox is, that he had long and successfully courted popular favor; was elected to the State Council from Washington county in 1783; and afterwards, from that county, and from Allegheny, to the Assembly, of which he was a member when the anti-excise resolutions of

January, 1791, were passed, and voted for them. During all this period he was an open opponent of the State excise law, and had trained the people to believe that opposition to excise was a virtue. It was certified, and so far as appears, was not denied, that he not only justified the maltreatment of Graham, but had said that the "old rascal should have had his ears cut off." And when remonstrated with for taking an office so offensive to his old friends and the people generally, he spoke of them derisively, putting their favor low down in comparison with the value to him of the emoluments of the office. He had, moreover, risen to great wealth, had a "princely estate," and lived in a manorial mansion, richly furnished, and surrounded by quarters for fifteen or twenty negro servants. His abrupt change of front on the excise question was, of course, attributed to selfish motives, and a willingness to lend his high social and political influence to enforce a law which was not only odious, but which he had denounced as "subversive of the peace, liberty, and rights of the citizens." We will see that his relations to the law and his neighbors were the immediate provocatives of the violence which gave to the resistance the character of an insurrection.

The law was not put in force in the western counties in 1791, because of no office of inspection having been opened in time, and inability to find competent men for subordinate offices under it who were hardy enough to brave its unpopularity. The only one procured was Robert Johnson, a tenant of Col. Presley Neville, the inspector's son. In September he was caught in the Pigeon creek region, in Washington county, and maltreated somewhat after the formula established upon Graham, with the old Tory addition of a coat of tar and feathers. Similar acts of lawless violence were perpetrated, in quick succession, in the same vicinity, and on Mingo and Peter's creeks. The offenders having operated in disguise, stealthily, and in the night, generally eluded detection and punishment. Now was the time for the Government to have put forth its power. *Obsta principiis*—oppose the beginnings—shotted cartridges at first, blank ones afterwards, are the only effectual modes of suppressing mob rule. The State officers did all they could to ferret out and obtain testimony against the transgressors, but failed. Until too late there was no movement in that direction by the officers of

the United States, and when they did move, it was in such a fitful, dastardly, and distrustful manner as served only to bring their efforts into derision, and the government into contempt. Throughout all the troubles there was a persistent determination, on the part of the Federal officers, to draw into the United States Court at Philadelphia not only violations of the excise law, but every riot, arson, and assault and battery connected with it.* Our officers of justice were not only slighted, but traduced. Alexander (Judge) Addison presided over all the courts in the counties of the survey. He was the Sir Mathew Hale of his day—

> "—— for deep discernment praised,
> And sound integrity, not more than famed
> For sanctity of manners undefiled;"

and every associate judge and sheriff in the four counties, and nearly all the justices of the peace, were men of nerve and integrity. If not blatant advocates of the excise law, or busy detectives, they were friends of the Government, and ready at all times to sustain it. Although neither they, nor jurors generally, could uphold the wisdom and justice of the law, they never failed, even in the most deeply infected counties, to arrest, convict, and punish offenders, upon sufficient evidence. Yet Mr. Secretary Hamilton, in his labored report of August, 1794, upon the insurrection, declared it as "a truth too important not to be noticed, and too injurious not to be lamented, that the prevailing spirit of the *local officers* in the survey has been either hostile, or lukewarm to the execution of the laws: and the weight of an *unfriendly official influence* has been one of the most serious obstacles with which they have had to struggle." And George Clymer,† the supervisor of the district, having, in the

* During this volcanic period Col. James Paull was sheriff of Fayette, than whom a braver and truer man never held that office anywhere. He was a decided friend of the Government. Yet because, under the advice of his counsel, he declined to subject himself to an action for false imprisonment, by executing a defective warrant for the arrest of some of his neighbors accused of being concerned in one of the attacks upon the house of Wells, he was *indicted* in the United States Court at Philadelphia! What had the courts of the United States to do with the official duties of sheriffs? The indictment was not prosecuted.

† Grandfather of the Hon. Heister Clymer, of Berks, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He had more nerve then.

fall of 1792, come out to Pittsburgh as a detective, got scared, procured a guard, and hurried back to Philadelphia, to vent his abuse not only upon our civil magistrates, but upon our ministers of the gospel, and have his adventures commemorated in a mock-heroic epic, after the model of Trumbull's McFingal.

The act of May, 1792, made some slight but immaterial changes on the law of 1791. It lowered the rates a little, and allowed distillers to take and pay for monthly instead of yearly licenses, but raised the penalty for non-entry from $100 to $250. It also required offices of inspection and entry to be opened and maintained in each county, and that *entries* therein of stills, buildings, cellars, vaults, &c., used, or intended to be, in the manufacture and storage, should be made yearly, in *June*, and only then. Without much time to think about it, many distillers complied with this requirement, wherever they had opportunity, by the establishment of offices. Others hesitated until too late; and in the most deeply disaffected parts of the country many were deterred from compliance.

The inspector's "Bower Hill" residence was in Allegheny county, some eight or nine miles southwest of Pittsburgh, near the roads to Washington. Very unwisely, for the dignity of his office and character, and the sanctity of his house, he made it an "office of inspection," with sign up. Another office was at the tenant house of Johnson, on an adjoining tract of land. The only other office in the survey, prior to June, 1792, was at the residence of Benjamin Wells, on the southern bank of the Youghiogheny, opposite Connellsville, in the county of Fayette, of which Wells, the deputy, or collector for Fayette and Westmoreland, was the keeper. All efforts during that year to get places for offices anywhere in the counties of Washington and Westmoreland were unsuccessful, nor was any attempted for the Bedford part of the survey. A Captain Faulkner, of Wayne's army, then recruiting at Washington, had, in August, given General Neville permission to open an office in his house; but some rowdies on Pigeon creek so frightened the Captain, when out there hunting deserters, that he quickly revoked the permission. Wells undertook, in June, 1792, to have a kind of peripatetic weekly office at Greensburgh, which he soon abandoned, and another at Uniontown; but on the first appointment there he did not appear, and on the next got fright-

ened and hid himself; so that the distillers who attended, assuming that he did not mean business. went home and gave it up.

It will be seen from the synopsis of the laws already given, that the penalty for non-entry of stills, etc., could be exacted only in case an office was kept open during June in each county. Those who conducted the early campaigns against the excise were good generals. It was a point of the highest strategic importance to prevent the establishment of offices in the several counties, or, if established, to suppress them, and keep them so during all the month of June. This, as we have seen, was effectually accomplished at the outset in Washington county, which, as Secretary Hamilton reported, "has uniformly distinguished its resistance by a more excessive spirit than has appeared in the other counties, and seems to have been chiefly instrumental in kindling and keeping alive the flame." It certainly established the precedent upon a pretty firm basis. That no attempt was made in 1792 to suppress any other of General Neville's offices is some evidence that the people of his vicinage were trying to preserve their former respect for him, and that the resistance was progressive; while, as to Wells, he seems to have been frightened into inactivity after his failures at Uniontown. For a while all was quiet in all parts of the survey. Many distillers within the lawful range of the established offices had entered their stills, especially those of the largest capacity, who were rather anxious that the smaller ones—those who distilled "on the shares"—should be induced not to enter, and quit the business, so as to enable them to monopolize it. Many did quit.

The time for entries for 1793 was coming round. This thing of having no offices in the two largest and most populous counties of the survey was discouraging to the secretary and supervisor, and encouraged to further resistance by the people and distillers of the two lesser counties. Perhaps two-thirds of the distillers in the western counties were thereby exempt from the tax, and their whiskey from seizure, unless caught beyond the lines. The people of Washington county had a long, tempting river border, from which they could ship to the lower markets, or send it across into the Ohio part of the northwest territory, to which the excise laws had not been extended. Some were cautious or conscientious enough to be willing to pay the duty at the places of shipment, but the collector

of Ohio county, Virginia, then all of the Panhandle, gave public notice that he could receive none except on what was made in his own county. The greater part of Fayette, Westmoreland, and Bedford could pack their whiskey in twenty-gallon kegs across the mountains with impunity, because vessels of that capacity were not required by the law to be marked as legal, or be accompanied by certificates. Only the Monongahela and Youghiogheny river borders of the four counties were hedged in by a vigilant surveillance, and had to run the gauntlet. Many looked upon the whole system as tumbling to pieces, and few, if any, were willing to go to its relief. The Secretary saw and lamented these embarrassments, but could not remove them. The defects were in the law, the localities, and the temper of the people, which were beyond his reach. He asked the Congress which sat in 1792–'93 to cure them, but without success; so he had to resort to expedients, as well before as after that failure.

The first expedient was, in September, 1792, to procure the President, who had retired for rest to the shades of Mount Vernon, to sign the proclamation, which I have referred to (in a note), containing a general warning to transgressors. It had a good effect. Then came the flying mission of the supervisor, before noted, whose purpose was to procure evidence upon which to indict, in the United States Court, the assailants of Faulkner, and those who had composed a little meeting in Pittsburgh, in August, 1792, which had passed some intemperate and indiscreet resolutions, which the Secretary deemed to be violations of some Act of Congress, but which neither the Attorney-General nor he could find.* This dastardly, inde-

* This meeting was composed of John Badolet, Bazil Bowell, Shesbazer Bentley, David Bradford, Edward Cook, John Canon, Thomas Gaddis, Albert Gallatin, Neal Gillespie, John Hamilton, John Huey, Mathew Jameson, Peter Lisle, Alexander Long, John McClelland, Robert McClure, James Marshall, Benjamin Parkinson, David Phillips, James Stewart, John Smilie, William Wallace, and Samuel Wilson—23 a grand jury. *John Canon*, chairman; *Albert Gallatin*, clerk.

The supposed indictable proceedings were as follows:

"And whereas, some men may be found among us so far lost to every sense of virtue and feeling for the distress of this country as to accept offices for the collection of the duty [on stills and spirits]—

"*Resolved*, therefore, that in future we will consider such persons as unworthy of our friendship, have no intercourse or dealings with them,

fensible and abortive effort of vindictiveness nullified the salutary influence of the proclamation.

Another expedient had a better effect. It was to pay cash to complying distillers for whiskey for Wayne's army, then in camp at Legionville, at or near where Economy now is, and afterwards on its movements against the British Indians. To sustain this expedient efforts were made to seize illicit whiskey, but with very partial results.

It was more to the purpose to obtain offices and officers for the other counties, in time for the June entries of 1793. On the first of June of that year the inspector gave notice, through the "Gazette," that offices for entries, &c., were opened at his own house, and at the house of R. Johnson, in Allegheny county; at B. Wells', in Fayette, and at Philip Reagan's, in Westmoreland—none yet for Washington or Bedford. But if one had been obtained for Westmoreland, it was soon suppressed; for Secretary Hamilton, in his oft quoted report of August, 1794, says that all efforts to obtain an office in that county, as well as in Washington, up to 1794, had utterly failed. So, as to offices, things stood as they were in 1792. In the fall of 1793, however, Captain John Webster gave notice of his being the collector for Bedford county. Still forbearing towards the inspector, no attempt to suppress him or Johnson was made in 1793, except, it was said, that at some militia muster he was hung and burnt in effigy. But Wells being notoriously timid, and obnoxious on general account, a riotous visit was made to his house in a night in April, 1793; but he being "out," it had no other effect than to frighten the inmates. Nobody was hurt.

Notwithstanding these covert, disorderly, and illegal demonstrations of a still lurking propensity to mischief by the lower strata of society, it was confessed on all hands that the excise law gained ground in 1793, at least until near its close. It would have continued to gain had the Treasury officers let distillers alone for a while, in the counties where they had offices, so as to put them on a

withdraw from them every assistance, and withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow citizens we owe to each other, and upon all occasions treat them with that contempt they deserve; and that it be and hereby is most earnestly recommended to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them."—*Niles' Register*, Vol. II., 54.

level with those where they had none, and turned their attention to a steady and vigorous detection and prosecution of the riotous offenders. The offences were all cognizable by our local courts, which were open and ready. The arm of justice is always more effective in close attack than when wielded from a distance. But, supposing the offences to have been "obstructing or hindering an officer of inspection in the execution of the act, or of any of the powers or authorities thereby vested in him" (which by the act of 1791 was punishable by a fine not exceeding $200), and thereby within the jurisdiction of the United States Court; the same Congress which did *not* amend the law as to county offices and the Ohio territory, seeing the weakness of the judicial arm at so great a distance, and the cruelty to alleged, and so far as tried, innocent defendants, and the hardship to witnesses of dragging them a seven-days' journey from their homes and business, *did*, in March, 1793, enact a law enabling the Federal Court to hold special sessions near to the places where the offences were charged to have been committed. Says Findley, "those who anxiously wished to see the dignity and authority of the laws supported, expected that a special session would have been held in the western counties with all convenient speed. If this had been done," he adds, "I am certain there would have been no insurrection."

Instead of taking this course, the Secretary and his subordinates declare their determination to resort to the vindictive expedient of "prosecuting delinquents, in the cases in which it could be clearly done, for non-compliance with the laws." Of course it could be "clearly done" against delinquents in only about one-third of the survey, while distillers and their friends in the other two-thirds could look on and laugh. We will presently see the fearful results of this expedient.

At this juncture a new *god* was added to mythology. A frightful myth he was—a Darwinian development of the times. He bore the classic name of *Tom the Tinker*. It was said he was one John Holcroft, and that his Olympus was on some of the hills of Mingo or Peter's creek. But truly, he was a multiform deity; at least he was Briarean in his functions. His mundane recreations were to destroy the stills and mills, and burn the barns of complying distillers, and terrify others into non-compliance. He sometimes

warned before striking; but the warnings and the blows were always in the dark, and of difficult detection. The stills and mills of several complying distillers within the range of General Neville's offices were destroyed, or materially injured, the barn and contents of another burnt, and fire and ruin threatened to others. The barn of one in Wells' county was burnt. "It was given out," says Secretary Hamilton, upon information from General Neville, February 27, 1794, "that in three weeks there would not be a house standing in Allegheny county of any person who had complied with the laws." Here, then, was the dilemma of a distiller: if I comply, my property, perchance my life, and the lives of my family, may be the sacrifices; if I don't comply, I must either tear down my stills, empty my whiskey into the creek, feed my grain to the hogs, get my salt, iron, and tax money as best I can, or pay the penalty of $250 with costs of suit. Is it any wonder that they failed to comply?

One of the earliest outside raids of *Tom* and his lesser gods—indeed it is said some of them came from his empire—was a renewed visit to Wells, in November, 1793. This time they found him "at home," and by threats and other "persuasions," induced him to give up his commission and books, and come under solemn promise no longer to act as an exciseman. But the old man did not keep his word in that behalf, deeming the obligation—and very justly—not binding, because given under duress. So he soon after procured a new commission and books, and went at it again, in time for the entries of June 1794. We will see how he fared in the next attack.

Now, all the offices in the four counties were supposed to be captured, except the two for Allegheny. The people began to hope that they would yield to the storm of indignation without a formal siege or attack. But General Neville was made of sterner stuff. Threats were tried, but without avail. He assumed a defiant attitude, as much as to say, "come and take me." Instead of yielding, the people soon found that he had re-instated Wells, and had procured one John Lynn to rent part of his house in Canonsburgh for an office for the county of Washington. This was about the first of June, 1794. Hardly was the sign up before this office was suppressed. Dr. Carmahan, then a student of the academy, relates the case thus: "He (Lynn) was taken from his bed, carried into the

woods, where he received a coat of tar and feathers, and was left tied to a tree, but so loosely that he could easily extricate himself. He returned to his house, and after undergoing an ablution with grease and soap, and sand and water, exhibited himself to the boys of the academy and others, and laughed and made sport of the whole matter." Secretary Hamilton tells the tale in somewhat higher coloring, but he was not there to see.*

Reagan, in Westmoreland, had also been induced to let half of his double log-house, on Big Sewickley, for a branch office for the Elder Wells, which he put under the care of his son John and Reagan, men of courage and tact in the art of defence. They converted the office into a quasi block-house, with arms and port-holes, and withstood several nightly attacks during all the month of June. It is not likely they received any entries of stills. Whether Webster got any is unknown. The volcano was about to erupt. All it wanted was the "lid off." Neville and the marshal soon removed it. But before the catastrophe comes let us pause and take a hasty retrospect.

These flank movements indicated an unruly and reckless element of society, powerful, by its insignificance, by the impunity it had so long enjoyed, and by the chronic aversions of the community to the law and the men against whom they warred. Like a deeply-seated disease in a sickly body, it was hard to arrest, and could be reached only by bringing it to the surface. All good men frowned upon these demonstrations, not only because they were riotous, cruel, and contagious, but because they were calculated to repress any sympathy elsewhere, and invoke the avenging arm of the govern-

* Some weeks before this occurrence, two reputable citizens of Canonsburgh—one, the old postmaster, whom some of us remember, the other, the father of an eminent living professor in one of our theological seminaries—came together to Pittsburgh, each with a quantity of whiskey. That of the one was seized and sold for the excise, by the exciseman Johnson, at a considerable profit to himself. Thereupon the other remarked, before all the company, "that the excise business was a fine way to make money, and wished that Johnson would give him the office." Soon after this a feud sprang up between the two citizens, and the sufferer charged the other with wanting to be an exciseman, and open an office in the town; which he indignantly denied. An angry controversy ensued through the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, in June and July, 1794.

ment upon the innocent. The only apology which can be made for them is that they were the natural outgrowths of the social and political condition of the people, stimulated to precocity and virulence by the misconceptions and blunders of the Treasury Department of the government, in its fitful efforts to force an affection for an odious and unjust law. "Leviathan is not so tamed." Moreover, the modes pursued were supposed to have illustrious precedents. It was by such demonstrations of popular disfavor that the Stamp Act of 1765 had been nullified in all the colonies, and eventually repealed.* The same career had been successfully run against the State excise law; and why could it not be against that of the United States? As a legislative power the National Government was new and untried. Our people hardly knew it. They had done their own fighting in great measure, and found themselves. They could not see why it was that a law confessedly wrong in the State could be right in the United States; nor why the repeal of one should be so soon followed by the enactment of another. "They flattered themselves," says Dr. Carnahan, "that they were only carrying out Whig principles, and following Whig examples. These ideas, pervading the great body of the people, caused those who were orderly and peaceable citizens to look with an indulgent eye at these first acts of insult and violence to the Federal excise officers."

As to the excisemen, or deputies, who were the victims of these visitations, it is enough to say of them that their reputations were not strong enough to bear the loathsome load which they undertook to carry. Dr. Carnahan, who was their cotemporary, and

* One John Hughes was the stamp-master at Philadelphia. He was a friend of Dr. Franklin, and, of course, unfriendly to the Proprietary party. When the news reached the city that his commission and the stamps were on a ship in the bay, a town meeting was called, by the ringing of bells and beating of drums. A great crowd assembled, passed some terrible resolutions, and sent a delegation of "insurgents," such as James Tilghman, *Robert Morris*, Archibald McCall, and *Charles Thompson*, to the stamp-master, who was sick in bed, to demand his papers and the non-execution of his office. To the latter he agreed but not having his commission, could not give it up. In his report of these incendiary proceedings, he charges them all to the "*Presbyterians* and Proprietary emissaries." So our insurgents had at least one orthodox precedent.—*Hazard's Register*, *Vol. II.*, 244.

probably knew some of them, says they were "generally of low character, had very little sensibility, and were willing, for the paltry emoluments of the office, to incur the censure and contempt of their fellow citizens." Perhaps the good Doctor is a little too rough. Some of them, we know, have respectable descendants. Such, however, seems to have been the general estimate of their character. General Irvine, well known about Pittsburgh at and before this period, one of the commissioners of peace and amnesty sent out by Governor Mifflin, in August, 1794, wrote: "I believe it will be found that some of the officers (of the excise) here have behaved shamefully."

Up to this period the excise laws, and the obnoxious men and measures used to enforce them, were almost the only employed powers of the Federal Government which had come in contact with the people of Western Pennsylvania; and its relations to them in other respects had not been such as to attract their confidence. Great Britain had been allowed, for ten years, against treaty obligations, to retain possesssion of armed posts within our N. W. Territory, thereby facilitating and inciting the Indians to frequent raids and rapine. The disastrous failures of Harmar's and St. Clair's campaigns had spread terror all over the West; and Wayne's army had been held in check for almost two years, while the government was parleying with the wily savages about peace and a boundary. These failures and delays kept up the perils of navigating the Ohio; and Spain was allowed, contrary to treaty and asserted natural right, to obstruct the free use of the Mississippi. Very many of our people were dazzled with the meteor glare of republican France. Hamilton, the father and nurse of the excise, was believed, and not without some evidence, to be a semi-monarchist, and too fond of England. Mr. Jay, appointed to negotiate a treaty with the British Ministry, was accused, though unjustly, of being hostile to the West. These all constituted an array of alienating influences which required some forbearance to subdue. The only countervailing considerations were based upon the obligation of all good citizens to obey the laws enacted by the government they had consented to establish. But this was, to them, an abstract ideal duty, which required some motive of interest to recognize, and some affectionate regard to appreciate. Obedience and protection, said they, are

reciprocal obligations; and a government that withholds the one must not expect the other, at least not to partial and oppressive laws.

If the government had but deferred its attempts to enforce the excise laws for a year or two longer, all would have gone well. Wayne soon vanquished the Indians. The western posts were given up. Spain yielded the free and rightful navigation of the Mississippi. The French Revolution had become revolting, a "reign of terror;" and the wise counsels and firmness of Washington had preserved the country in peace and prosperity.

I am the last man to call in question any of the doings of the first and wisest and purest of our Presidents. But it is to be lamented, that our perplexing foreign relations, at this juncture, so burdened his mind as to compel him to devolve upon others the details of executing the laws relating to domestic affairs which Congress had enacted. He could not have been truly informed of the condition of the western counties, their privations and grievances. He was not a Scotch-Irishman. The representations, which he saw and heard, all came from interested and prejudiced partizans. His published writings disclose no evidence that he was ever consulted upon the aggravating measures, until they produced a crisis which made it his duty to interpose. Be all this as it may, instead of forbearing, it was, most inopportunely, determined to press compliance with the excise laws with the utmost rigor; not against those who had piled up the perils of compliance, but against distillers who had not elected to encounter those perils. Nay, more, at the very time Congress was engaged in passing a law to enable them to be sued in their own courts, the District Attorney, doubtless at the instance of the revenue officers, persisted in suing them before the U. S. Court at Philadelphia. This was an outrage greater than some, at least, which the poor excisemen had suffered. It was the spark to the magazine. Says General Irvine, in the letter from which I have already quoted, "I do not mean now either to condemn or justify the proceedings here, but I may safely venture to say, that the people on the west of the mountains labor under hardships, if not grievances that are not known, or at least not understood, in other parts of the United States, in more instances than the excise; but in this particularly it can be demonstrated that they labor under

peculiar hardship, for instance, carrying a man to Philadelphia or York to be tried for crimes, real or supposed, or on litigation respecting property, perhaps under the value of forty shillings: *this is intolerable.*" Pass we now to see what became of it.

Prior to 1794 but few suits had been instituted against delinquent distillers in any of the western counties, and those which had been, were either not prosecuted, or had been quietly settled. As the law then stood, these had to be brought in the Court of the United States for the District of Pennsylvania, which then sat only at Philadelphia, and perhaps at York.

The suits to which General Irvine refers were, probably, disputes about petty forfeitures, and the indictments against the falsely accused assailants of Captain Faulkner, and against Sheriff Paull, of Fayette, already referred to. These, and the constant dread of suits in that court for the penalty of $250 for non-entry, had come to be considered an intolerable grievance. The costs and the expenses of attendance and counsel might exceed the penalty. As well now might some of us be sued before a court in Maine or Oregon. It was a new thing to our people to be sued so far from home. The distillers were generally farmers, many of them struggling to pay for and improve their lands, and help their neighbors; so that, in many cases, as already seen, it was a dread of ruin, perhaps death, if they complied, and certain ruin if sued at Philadelphia for non-compliance. It might cost them their all.

Although Congress could not be brought to repeal the excise laws, it was not deaf to the well-founded complaints of being sued in a strange and far distant court. Its benignant enactment of 1793, by which the District Court was allowed to hold sittings near the places of alleged offences, had, for some cause, been disregarded, without experiment or reason. Moreover, the fees of officers of that court, and of witnesses before it, were, perhaps, treble of what they were in the State courts, and the marshal could call jurors from any places in the State without any control upon his impartiality.

To remedy all this, during the last week of May, 1794, a bill was in rapid progress of passage through Congress, with almost a certainty of enactment, which provided that suits of every kind, under the laws for collecting revenues from spirits distilled in

the United States, and from stills, arising at a greater distance than fifty miles from the places appointed by law for holding District Courts of the United States, might be brought in the State Courts. It passed, finally, on the 3d of June, and was approved on the 5th by the President.

As if to elude the intent of Congress, and aggravate one of the greatest of the grievances, the newly-appointed District Attorney, perhaps at the instance of high officers of the Revenue Department, who were watching the progress of this law (for Congress then sat at Philadelphia), on the 31st day of May, 1794, sued out of the United States District Court some seventy-five writs against distillers, all over the State, in which thirty-four of the defendants resided in Fayette county, and six in Allegheny, the only counties in the west wherein offices had been kept up. Not only had the alleged offences in these two counties been allowed to slumber for eleven months, but there was no need of haste in bringing the suits, except to forestall Congress, for the writs were not returnable until the 12th of August, and no attempt to serve them was made until about the middle of July.

These are important facts, which nearly all the historians of this convulsion have overlooked. Those who have noticed them have either blunted their application by a confusion of dates, or were misled to say that the act could not apply to offences before its passage, which every lawyer knows is a mistake. The credit of their orderly disclosure is due to Mr. Ward, of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in his paper hereinbefore noted. He brought them out by collating the Court Records with the Journals of Congress. If not an intentional, it was certainly, in its results, a most disastrous evasion of a very salutary enactment, as we will presently see.

General Neville was a Virginian, of English descent. He seems to have had no clear comprehension of the tenacity of purpose which is one of the elements of Scotch-Irish character, nor of the excesses into which those imbued with vicious propensities will run against men and measures popularly obnoxious. Those which had been practiced against excise officers and complying distillers had, by long impunity and success, crystalized into an avalanche, which moved by the law of *crescit eundo*. General Neville could not but

note its growth, nor be heedless of its approach, nor fail to see that sooner or later it must overwhelm him and his house, unless arrested by conciliation, suspense of his functions, or the strong arm of the government. He would have been perfectly justifiable in saying to his superiors, I can hold out no longer. I have done all I could to uphold the law and its officers. One after another my outposts are captured. I am in the enemy's country, with no base of supplies, no reinforcements, no counter movement, no relief: I must surrender. Perhaps he did so remonstrate, and his superiors bade him hold the fort against the slow siege, while they went to work to provoke a fierce assault. If no such orders, the subordinate was inexcusably reckless. Sometimes "the better part of valor *is* discretion."

The inspector had repeated warnings of his fate if he persisted. He had more than once, when out from home, escaped capture and maltreatment. "Letters from the inspector in March," says Secretary Hamilton, "announce a plan of collecting a force to seize him, compel him to resign his commission, and detain him prisoner, perhaps as a hostage." A hostage! for whom? for what? The excise officers held no captives. Did they mean to make some? Perhaps they did, and *Tom* had found them out, and was beginning to organize his forces. Andrew Boggs testified that "a few days before the 4th of July (1794), Major ——— mentioned to me that it would not be long before I would hear of a party of four or five hundred, who would join to suppress the excise office in this (Allegheny) county, and that they would march to General Neville's. I communicated this to Colonel Neville," the General's son, who doubtless informed his father, for "in a letter from him of the tenth of July," says the Secretary, "he observed that the threatened visit had not yet been made, though he had still reason to expect it." It came full soon. In the meantime he prepared for it, by barricading his windows with plank, arming his negroes, and concerting a signal from the house to their quarters, upon which being given, they were to fire. The inspection office had become a fort; just enough so to provoke its capture.

On the 14th of July, Major Lenox, the United States Marshal, came to Pittsburgh, from Fayette county, where he had, successfully, and without insult or injury, served the thirty-four writs on distillers there, and was pleased. He had yet to serve the six in Allegheny

county, all of which were against distillers in the domains of Tom the Tinker, on the Peter's creek border of Washington county, but on the wrong side of the line to be safe against the penalty of the Excise law. They were all within a few miles of Gen. Neville's "Bower Hill" home and office. Instead of going out, in the panoply of his high commission alone, or with an unofficial guide, to serve those writs, he allowed or invited the inspector to accompany him. The marshal may be excused; the inspector cannot be. It was a solicitation to insult and violence—a defiance of the hosts of the enemy.

It was in the time of wheat harvest, when squads of reapers were gathered upon every alternate farm; the distilleries cold, but perhaps some of the men "warm" with their liquid fires. In the same neighborhood there was also, on that day, a legally called militia meeting, at which many were in attendance; and, as was usual in such cases, they had their arms and ammunition. In the course of the day, the marshal and his obnoxious guide had served five of the writs, unmolested. But towards evening word got out that the "Federal sheriff" and Neville were serving writs on the distillers, to take them to Philadelphia. Some said this could not be so, or if so that it was illegal, for they had heard of the law which allowed them to be sued at home. An inspection of a copy of one of the writs soon set this matter at rest, and showed that the writs were two months old (they bore *test* May 13th), and were each for the penalty of $250, incurred for not having entered the still, or stills, of the defendant in June of the year 1793, leading them to suppose that for the June of 1794 other writs would follow. Here was ruin double distilled; it must be averted at all hazards.

The last of the six writs to be served was on one William Miller, a captain of militia, who had seen service, a favorite with the people, a cousin of Major Kirkpatrick, the brother-in-law of Neville, whose friend and supporter he had been. When this writ was served it was about sunset. Men were coming from the field and the muster. They all knew what the marshal and Neville were doing. "The Federal sheriff," said Miller afterwards to Brackenridge, "was reading the writ, and General Neville on horseback in the lane, where he called on the sheriff to make haste. I looked up and saw a party of men running across the field, as it were to head the sheriff

[the marshal]. He set off with General Neville, and when they got to the head of the lane the people fired upon them. That night it was concluded to go on to Neville's and take him and the marshal. I felt myself mad with passion. I thought $250 would ruin me; and to have to go to the Federal Court at Philadelphia would keep me from going to Kentucky this fall, and I was getting ready. I felt my blood boil at seeing General Neville along, to pilot the sheriff [marshal] to my very door. He had been against the excise law as much as anybody. I was always for him in his elections, and it put me mad to see him coming to ruin me."

There is the whole secret, sued at Philadelphia, and Neville assisting in the service of the writs. John Holcroft, the reputed Tom the Tinker, was about, and his "ladle was hot." As it was late, and Neville's house was between Miller's and Pittsburgh, and the marshal and he had come and gone together, it was quite logical to assume that the marshal would lodge there that night, but really he had gone on to Pittsburgh. Ere sunrise the next morning—the 16th—some thirty or forty men and boys, about half of them with guns, are seen approaching the mansion and inspection office at Bower Hill. Neville was up, and just about to ride. He was disappointed. He had expected the visit in the night. He however was ready. The *corps d'armee*, headed by Holcroft, demanded to see the marshal. The answer is, "He is not here—gone to Pittsburgh." They are disappointed. "Then we demand that you surrender your commission, and stop this business." A horn is blown in the house. The negroes fire, simultaneously with a volley from the house. Several of the assailants are wounded, one mortally. The fire is faintly returned, and they retreat. This was the Sumpter attack of the war. Blood was shed, and blood was up. Hurriedly and alarmingly the tocsin sounded through all that long summer day. Sickles hung upon the trees. Men took down their rifles, picked their flints, and filled their powder horns, while the women run the bullets.

The inspector, alarmed, bewildered, and rightly judging that the attack would be renewed, sent to Pittsburgh for the judges to protect him—they have no power; for General Wilkins to order out the militia—he can't do it; for the sheriff to come and command the *posse*—he dare not do it, the *posse* would be with the assailants;

for Major Butler, of Fort Fayette, to send out soldiers—he sent eleven. Major Kirkpatrick comes to his relief and takes command, and inspects, perhaps strengthens, the defences. Vain effort.

Up to this crisis all the outrages seem to have been without concert, stealthy, in the dark, detached, and confined to a few of the baser sort. Now all is changed, and "such a change!" So sudden, yet so thorough as almost to preclude the idea of suddenness. A better class comes to the front, and in the broad blaze of day. An efficient military organization existed in the vicinity of these distillers. This was supplemented by a semi-political, semi-judicial society, known as the "Mingo Creek Association," founded in March of this year, and now in all the glow of youthful vigor. Its stated sittings were at the old Mingo meeting-house, prior, however, to the advent of Dr. Ralston. It was largely composed of members of a strong regiment, commanded by Colonel John Hamilton, then the sheriff of Washington county. All writers agree that this anomalous association was the cradle of the "rebellion." It certainly was the first to fly to arms and the last to yield. Moreover, the settlements on Mingo, in Washington county, and on Peters' creek in Allegheny, were in close contiguity. And it is probable that some of the associators, of whom, it may be, were the killed and some of the wounded, were among the assailants of Neville's house on the morning of the 16th. But there was a further incentive to their fury.

The same act of Congress—of June 5th, 1794—which provided for delinquents being sued in the county courts, had also required that entries of stills, &c., be thereafter made, upon notice given, in the nearest office of inspection, whether in or out of the county.* So the Washington county people saw that their age of impunity was passed, unless they could crush out Neville and his offices. This hastened their alacrity to go to the relief of their Allegheny brethren. They went with a rush, armed and organized, the good with the bad commingling, some for plunder, more for revenge; others because they were compelled to go; some, it may be, to temper the rage of the hour. By noon of the next day—the 17th—they had rendezvoused, five hundred strong, at the site of an old

* On this point legal gentlemen may refer to the *United States vs. Jacob Wolf*, Addison's Reports, 312.

refuge from Indian attack, known as Couche's Fort, some four miles from Neville's, in the vicinity of Bethel meeting-house, whereat the venerable Rev. John Clark then ministered. The good old man labored and spoke to dissuade them from their mad enterprise, but in vain. Reason had gone to the rear, passion ruled. They heard him patiently, but set a precedent for some of our own times, by parrying his monitions with "you are departing from your profession by meddling in politics."

Under the control of a committee of three, with Major James McFarlane as commander, on they go, some mounted, more afoot, a motley crowd:

> "Nor martial shout, nor minstrel tone,
> Announced their march—their tread alone;
> At times one warning trumpet blown;
> At times a stifled hum."

The committee take their stand on an eminence, at a safe distance from the citadel, with the horses in the rear, in charge of the non-combatants. Neville flies. Kirkpatrick and his eleven soldiers, with more chivalry than courage, are the forlorn hope. The negroes are concerned only to save their bacon in an outhouse. "A parley ensues under cover of a flag, sent by the insurgents to the house, to demand that the inspector come forth, renounce his office, and stipulate never again to accept an office under the same laws." So writes Secretary Hamilton, all other narrators concurring. The answer is, he has retired to a place unknown. "His commission and official papers were then demanded, with a declaration that if not delivered they would be taken by force. Kirkpatrick replied that he had sufficient force to defend the house [!], and would not surrender the papers. McFarlane informed him that he would wait until the women and children had withdrawn, then he would begin the attack, unless his demands were complied with. The women withdrew, and then the firing began on both sides." So Dr. Carnahan, whose narrative is sustained by other cotemporaries. The discrepancies in the diversified accounts are not material.

After several rounds on both sides, the firing seemed to cease from the house. Whereupon McFarlane, supposing a parley was desired, stepped from behind a sheltering tree, and ordered the firing to cease. At once he received, from the house, a mortal shot,

and in a few minutes expired. The assailants were now an ungovernable mob, infuriate, insatiate. Without orders, some one snapped his priming in the straw of a contiguous barn. Soon it was all ablaze, and the fire spread from it to other outbuildings, six in number, and thence to the mansion house, which, being all of wood, were soon consumed, with all that they contained. "Kirkpatrick surrendered, and with his command was permitted to leave uninjured." Three or four of the soldiers were wounded, and one lost his coat.

The more soberminded of the assailants stood aghast at the ruin they had wrought. It was more than they intended; but they could not "trammel up the consequence." Arson, murder, treason! flashed their horrors from the smoking ruins, and restored some to their right mind. Others drowned their dismay in the contents of the liquor casks which they rescued from the well-stored wine-cellar.

During the assault the marshal and Colonel Presley Neville, the inspector's son, and Major Isaac Craig, his son-in-law, came with a supply of ammunition, but were captured, and held at the outer lines. They were afterwards released, unhurt, after extorting from the marshal a promise never again to serve any writs west of the mountains. His captors tried to extend this obligation to not making a return of service upon those he had served. But, on his saying that his oath of office disabled him from that, they let him go. This shows not only what had been the aim of the array, but that reason was not utterly dethroned, and that however infuriate was the rage towards Neville, it did not extend to the marshal. The writs were returned served, but the suits were never prosecuted.

Slowly and sadly the dead and wounded are borne from the field. Great was the crowd at the Mingo church graveyard, at the funeral of McFarlane. It was the Sabbath. At once a meeting is appointed at the meeting-house on the next Wednesday, to devise a mode of extrication from the perils that impended. Runners are sent in all directions; to Pittsburgh, for Brackenridge to come and tell them the law; to Washington, for David Bradford,* the prose-

* This man, Bradford, who was as "unstable as water," denying to-day what he had done yesterday, timid when he should have been resolute, and reckless when he should have been cautious, became, by

cuting attorney, who had been a noisy declaimer against the excise law; and for Colonel James Marshall, then perhaps the most popular man in the county, who had hitherto only countenanced the opposition. At first they refuse any further co-operation, then hesitate, then "saying they would ne'er consent, consented." To them, and many others who had a name and property to conserve, tar and feathers, fire and ruin, were held up as "spurs to prick the sides of their intent." Terror and alarm pervaded all the borders of Peter's creek and Mingo, Pigeon creek and Chartiers. They spread like an April fire in the forest. Those who had participated in the attacks upon Neville now found themselves in the predicament of Macbeth after the murder of Duncan:

> "—— I am in blood
> Stept in so far, that, should I wade no more,
> Returning were as tedious as go o'er."

And on they went, heedless of consequences. The guilty saw no

his folly and subserviency to the lawless classes of the people, the "hero" of the insurrection. He plotted the robbing of the mail to gratify resentment, and procured the Braddock's field parade, covertly to rob Fort Fayette, but openly for display and his own glory. He instigated every scheme to magnify the rebellion, and was the marplot of every effort to calm it down, only in the end to go down with it himself.

He was a Marylander, having come into what became Washington county, while it was under the Virginia regime, and represented one of its counties in the Legislature of that Commonwealth. He settled at Washington as a lawyer, and held a respectable, though a second-rate, position in a Bar, of which Addison, Campbell, Pentecost, Purviance, and Ross were members. He was a brother-in-law of Judge James Allison [The Hon. John Allison, a grandson, and now (1876) Register of the Treasury of the U. S., has Bradford's papers], one of Dr. McMillan's Chartiers' Elders, and is said to have sustained the same relation to Judge Charles Porter, of Fayette, an Elder of Dunlap's creek. Although he had signed the terms of amnesty, his crimes before and after so doing were so great that he had to flee upon the approach of the enemy.

Through much tribulation he managed to elude pursuit and capture, and made his way into the Spanish territory on the lower Mississippi. There he became a successful planter, and won his way to wealth and a fair social position. He is said to have died about 1809. A granddaughter became the wife of Richard Brodhead, U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania, 1851–'57, and a son is said to have married a sister of Jefferson Davis.

other refuge than to compel the innocent to combine with them, and thereby force the government to forgiveness. To shrink was cowardice, to recant was treason to the common cause. From banners floating upon poles, and in processions, and placarded upon trees and sign posts, were the watchwords, "Liberty and no excise—death to cowards and traitors."

The meeting at Mingo came off as appointed. It was one of the masses from all the surrounding country, but few from a distance. Many of the best men of the land were there, some upon compulsion, others to prevent, if possible, rash measures. Col. Cook, an associate judge of Fayette, one of Mr. Finley's Rehoboth Elders, was chairman; Craig Ritchie, Esq., of Canonsburgh, secretary. Bradford and Marshall were for war, and were the chief speakers. Brackenridge made a long "chameleon speech," shifting from grave to gay so adroitly that at its end, as ever afterwards, it could not be told whether he was wiring in or wiring out. The avowed purpose of the leaders was to commit the whole west to adoption of the crimes already perpetrated, and by combination to procure impunity. More by tact than by argument, this failed of accomplishment. Impressed with the belief that by procrastination the fury would subside, the men at the helm procured the only result of the meeting to be to call another, of delegates from all the townships in the survey, to be held at Parkinson's ferry (Monongahela City) on August 14th, "to take into consideration the condition of the western country." This was the culminating point of the convulsion, the perihelion of the baleful planet. For a while it shed alternate gloom and glare all over the western counties, in its convulsive efforts to advance beyond its destined bound. In quick succession came the robbing of the mail; the cabal of the conspirators—Bradford, Canon, Marshall, Parkinson, and three others—at Canonsburgh; the suppression of all the other offices in the survey, embracing those of Wells in Fayette, which was burnt, and in Westmoreland, which was eventually captured. That of Webster, on Stony Creek, was given up, and the sign taken down from Bouquet's old brick "Redoubt," in Pittsburgh. Every arm of the excise was cut off, and the law, for a while, "repealed."* The expiring

* It was not repealed by Congress until April 9th, 1802. It was renewed by act of July 24th, 1813, but with much less obnoxious provi-

blaze of the fiery orb was in the display at Braddock's field, on the 1st and 2d days of August. It went up like a rocket and came down the merest stick.

At last the avenging arm of the Government, too long withheld, was raised for the restoration of order. In proportion as it terrified the turbulent, it gave confidence to the many good citizens who had hitherto been discouraged, or deterred from interference in the commotions which oppression had provoked, but the enormities of which it had become unmanly to palliate and criminal to justify. Henceforth, every meeting of the people tended to submission. The army came only to witness its consummation, and, in the end, to perpetrate greater outrages upon the rights and liberties of the innocent, than any, or all, which the excise officers had suffered. The Government compensated them for all their losses, and restored them to their offices. But for the wrongs which many of the best of our people endured, on the "dreadful night" of November 13th, and in the prisons of Philadelphia, there was no redress.

My task is done. I set out in this, I fear too tiresome, ramble, not to give a history of the insurrection, but only to trace its rise and progress, its causes and its character, the basis upon which it rested, and the materials of which it was constructed. The facts are familiar; I have aimed only to set them in a just and orderly array. If the deductions I have drawn from them seem to any of you to be strained, or illogical, all I can say is, that they are such as a careful study and an unbiased purpose constrained me to make. The subject, I know, is a fossil, dead, dry, and denuded. But every now and then it assumes a spectral form, and stalks athwart the paths of past memories, pointing its slow unmoving finger of scorn at the stain upon our escutcheon, which long accredited history has incrusted. I have felt that it is high time to lay the ghost, and wipe out the stain. If I have done a work of supererogation, it is because you invited me to the effort; if too much of it, I could not make it less, consistently with the duty imposed of doing all that truth re-

sions. Our people endured it then without complaint. This act was repealed December 23, 1817; and no renewal until after the late Southern Rebellion. *Its* mode of operation seems exceedingly productive of corruption. Better repeal it, or go back to the *license* plan of 1813.

quired to rescue this goodly heritage we now for a while possess, from the reproach of having been the seat of a "rebellion" incited only by a hatred of government and a love of whiskey.* Turn we now to some of the more pleasing features and sequences of the convulsion.

Except in some of the insane ravings of Bradford, and a hint from Brackenridge that vindictiveness by the Government might lead to that extremity, there was, at no time, in the eruptive period, any well-developed design to secede from the Union, or the State. The New State project had been too long dead to be revived; and many of the active anti-excise men had been among its decided opponents—conspicuously, Colonel Marshall. Besides, they could not stand alone; and where could they go? As General Wilkins said, "it was only the excise law that was repealed," and its officers disowned. All others, though for a while silent, remained in full force. One of the resolutions prepared by Bradford and Marshall, for the first Parkinson's Ferry meeting, was to that effect.† The disease was on the surface; the vitals were sound.

Throughout all the reign of terror that followed the fatal 15th of July, every minister of our faith—I speak not of others—and nearly, if not quite all the elders—conspicuously Judges Edgar and McDowell, of Washington, and Cook, of Fayette—were untiring in their efforts to restrain violence and promote submission. And it is a most commendable characteristic of the people, however turbulent, that no minister was ever threatened or insulted. Indeed, they, for a while, were almost the only persons that dare be outspoken against the fury of the times. If their counsels were not always heeded, it was because of countervailing influences too low for them to reach, or too obdurate for them to subdue.

Especially was the Rev. Samuel Porter, of Congruity, and still more especially, Dr. McMillan, active and efficient. They were men "of the people and for the people;" bold, but prudent; fertile of expedients and undaunted by a failure. If repulsed once, it was

* See Appendix No. 6.

† "That we will, with the rest of our fellow-citizens, support the laws and government of the respective States in which we live, and the laws and government of the United States, the excise law and the taking citizens out of their respective counties only excepted."

"try, try again." This was the palmy period of the Doctor's vigor and influence. To his multiform labors he added now, and for some years afterwards, those of a *politician;* by which must be understood, not the tricks and flattery by which too many rise to popular favor, but a watchfulness over, and moulding of, public sentiment on great questions of State, and selecting the best available men to subserve the common weal. And whatsoever his hand found to do, in that as in all other things, he did it with all his might.

Before the President, as a last resort, ordered out the army, he kindly sent three commissioners, Senator Ross, Attorney-General Bradford, and Judge Yeates, with whom Governor Mifflin joined General Irvine and Chief-Justice McKean, to negotiate terms of peace, and offer amnesty, and eventually pardon, for all past offences, upon condition that a sufficiently decided majority of the people would openly declare their submission to the laws in general, and to the excise law in particular. All males over eighteen years of age, the guilty and the innocent, were required to vote, and then, those for submission to sign an obligation to that effect. The day appointed was September 11th, at the usual places of holding elections in districts and townships. To obtain the requisite evidence of submission was vitally important: to the community generally, to save it from armed invasion; to the turbulent and criminal, to screen them from punishment. To the rebellious it was a boon, but repulsive to those who had not offended; hence, many declined to attend. The evidence obtained was not satisfactory, and the army came.*

The "seat of war," as we have seen, was chiefly upon Peters, Mingo, and Pigeon creeks. Within one of the election districts, presumed to be Somerset or Nottingham, and reaching over much of the Doctor's Pigeon Creek congregation, there were many who had special need of the offered amnesty. These came in force, but on purpose to oppose submission; and the Doctor attended to promote it, taking with him Judge Edgar, whose township did not need his services. Speakers were there to advocate and oppose. The

* The Commander-in-Chief of the army, sent to suppress the Insurrection, was Colonel Henry Lee, of Virginia, "Light-horse Harry" of the Revolution, and then Governor of Virginia. He was the father of the late "Confederate" General, Robert E. Lee.

judge made an able, conciliatory address, but to no good purpose. He was hissed and pelted with mud and stones. The table upon which the papers to be signed were laid was carried away, and the meeting broken up in an uproar. Some of the members of the Doctor's church were implicated, as well in this as in the preceding disturbances. He was alarmed, but not disheartened. A Communion of the Supper had been appointed for an early day. At once he had it postponed, with a view to debar the perverse from the ordinance, or bring them to a better state of mind. To this end, a meeting was appointed at the meeting-house, and Mr. Porter sent for to preach and persuade. At the set time he came. There was a large attendance; for the people had begun to repent of their folly and wickedness. The Doctor prayed and exhorted. Mr. Porter preached from Romans xiii. 1–7. Coming to the *application* of his discourse to the times, he noticed some frowns, and many rising to leave. At once he changed his tone, told an anecdote, and so held the audience. By reason and pleasantry nearly all were brought to agree to submit.* Although too late to be effective with the commissioners, it restored the recusant to favor in the Church, and had a salutary influence over all that turbulent region.

All this was within the acknowledged sphere of ministerial duty. But the Doctor went further, and carried his commanding influence into a field from which the clergy are generally excluded.

In October, 1794, just as the "Insurrection" was cooling down into submission, and when the army was on its march to quench the embers, a member of Congress was to be elected from the district composed of the counties of Washington, which then included Greene, and Allegheny, which then extended to Lake Erie, but without much population north of the Allegheny river. Four candidates had been announced: Thomas Scott, of Washington, then a member; David Hamilton, also of Washington county; John Woods, of Pittsburgh, brother-in-law of James Ross, then United States Senator, and Hugh Henry Brackenridge, the long-time enemy of Woods, well known in those days as a versatile lawyer,

* Memoir of Rev. Samuel Porter, by Rev. Dr. Carnahan, in Sprague's Annals, Vol. I. The elder Brackenridge tells the story somewhat differently, in his "Incidents," Part II., 20; but I prefer to follow Dr. Carnahan.

and afterwards as an author, and a Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Scott was a fair man, had owed his two prior elections to having been on general tickets, had voted for the excise law, and was therefore supposed not to have much show of success. Hamilton had been a blatant and fierce insurrectionist. Woods had been decidedly the other way, but, having sustained defeats in former contests, had lost whatever of *prestige* his qualifications had given him. Brackenridge was commonly believed to have paltered with the people in a double sense during the recent convulsions, and had not the entire confidence of either party. Moreover, having, in earlier life, "resigned" his license from the Presbytery of New Castle to preach, and learned to swear, he was not the man for Dr. McMillan. Though his popularity was rapidly waning, there seemed *some* danger, in the Doctor's eye, of his election. He saw the necessity of bringing out some new man of strength. To this end he called together a few good and trusty men, at Canonsburgh, about ten days before the election, and had Albert Gallatin announced as a candidate. It is said, and is probably true, that this was done without Mr. Gallatin's knowledge. He did not reside in the district—never did; but lived in Fayette, near "Mount Moriah" and New Geneva, and was then a candidate for re-election to the Assembly from that county. The Doctor caused his tickets for Congress to be printed and distributed; not a very arduous undertaking, as there were but six election districts in Washington county, and not more in Allegheny.

Why Dr. McMillan took hold of Mr. Gallatin may appear rather inexplicable. It is probable they were personally unacquainted. He was not a Presbyterian, though born and nurtured in the Calvinistic city of Geneva. In the early stages of opposition to the excise law, he had been a leader of the array against it, a member of the Pittsburgh meeting of August, 1792, and probably the author of its "intemperate" resolutions, for which Secretary Hamilton sought to have him indicted. But at all the deliberative meetings which had taken place after the convulsion culminated, he had openly, fearlessly, and effectively advocated submission; and by tact and eloquence broken every movement towards further resistance. This gave him favor and influence with all right-minded men. He was with the current. He was the proper man for the

place, in the Doctor's discerning eye, and for success. In this he reckoned rightly, for Gallatin was elected by a decided plurality, and was also, on the same day, elected to the Assembly from Fayette, in which his term of service expired before he was required to take his seat in Congress.* In this way Dr. McMillan was instrumental in bringing into the national councils one of the ablest statesmen of the age.

This *coup d'etat* of the Doctor was not calculated to give him much favor in the eyes of Brackenridge, but it served to impress him with an exalted estimate of the Doctor's power in the State, as well as in the church, and led him to assume that he would have great influence with Gallatin. An occasion came to put that matter to a test.

A great ferment was raised in the country, and in the Congress of 1796, over Jay's treaty of November, 1794, with England. Though it secured the surrender of the western posts, and averted a war, it was fiercely denounced as an abandonment of important rights.

Its sanction was made a test question between the two great parties of the nation, then just being crystalized into enduring antagonism. To carry it into effect required some legislation by Congress, and the battle was being fought in the House, of which Gallatin was a member. Brackenridge, though in private station, manifested great anxiety in favor of the treaty by voice and pen. Judge Addison, then of Washington, Pennsylvania, also advocated it. Though soon to become hostile, these distinguished men were then friends, and worked together. Gallatin, though of the Franco-democratic school, had not yet given such decided indications of where he stood on the treaty question as to preclude a hope of drawing or driving him into its support. It was to accomplish this that Brackenridge, through his friend, Judge Addison, invoked the aid and influence of Dr. McMillan, the evidence of which is in the following extracts from letters of Brackenridge to Addison:—

Under date of February 8, 1796, he writes: "I tell you a plan that would shake Gallatin in all his politics of opposition to the

* The Legislature set aside the elections of this year for all its members in the four western counties, because of the "Insurrection." They were all re-elected in February, 1795, except one who declined.

treaty—if one McMillan could be set upon him. What if you were to ride out and converse with Father Polycarp, or rather—(I forget what)—and put him upon him. He does not want sense, and I presume you could get him to understand the debate before the House."

Again, under date of April 30th, 1796, he writes: "The fact is, that unless Cardinal McMillan can be brought over, Gallatin will conquer, and have the popular side. I have some trust in his understanding, so that if complimented on his judgment and firmness in *Tom the Tinker's* day, he may sit right. He will give the tone to all the missionaries of his ministry. No pains ought to be spared to engage him."

Again, in the same letter: "A small letter from McMillan to Gallatin would settle the matter, for it is on McMillan he counts, and is secure. It ought to be demanded of McMillan, that *as he sent him*, he should keep him right."

It seems the Judge did visit the "cardinal," and was successful in enlisting his influence in favor of the treaty, for, on the 12th of May, 1796, after sermon on a fast-day, at Chartiers, the Doctor announced to the people that "business of a public nature of great importance" demanded their consideration. At once the congregation resolved itself into a council on political affairs. The Doctor was chosen chairman, and Craig Ritchie, secretary. The chair stated the critical condition of the country, and the imminent danger of war with England and the Indians, if the treaty was not carried out in good faith. After discussion, a strong resolution was adopted in favor of the treaty. A petition to Congress, in accordance with the resolution, was signed by all present, and the Doctor directed to write to all his ministerial brethren west of the mountains, requesting them to call meetings to take the sentiments of their people on the subject,* thus carrying out the wishes of Brackenridge in close conformity with his "plan."

Brackenridge exults over the achievement, in another letter to Addison, dated May 20th, 1796: "The obtaining of the patronage of the Rev. John McMillan, whom I denominate the Patriarch of the Western Church, was a grand acquisition. It secures our flanks

* Creigh's History of Washington County, 114.

perfectly. But for this, Findley [of Westmoreland] and Gallatin would not have respected our attempts to regulate them. They will now dread it."

The movement, however, failed to "regulate" Gallatin into support of the treaty. He spoke and voted on the other side. Findley dodged. But the required legislation was had, and all went off as Brackenridge wished, except that he was not able to prostrate Gallatin. He maintained his favor with the people against every assault, until called to the head of the Treasury Department by Mr. Jefferson, in 1801, where he remained until 1814, the longest tenure of that office ever held by any incumbent.

After this the Doctor seems to have given no special attention to political affairs. They had come to be swayed by men with whom he could not affiliate, and by influences which he did not care to encounter. Henceforth, until the end of his long pilgrimage, he gave his energies, his time, his means, his very being, to the cause of his Master, his congregation, the church he loved, and the college he founded.

When Dr. Guthrie was told that Chalmers, the champion of the Free Church of Scotland, was dead, "Ah!" said he, "men of his calibre are like the great trees of the forest, we don't know their size till they are down." So it has been with Dr. McMillan. The honors that are now being paid to his character, his labors, and his teachings, prove that, however justly they were recognized while he lived, the lengthening shadows of the grave but add to their grandeur. That he had his peculiarities is most true. He could not have been great without them. And they were such as exactly suited the times in which, and the people among whom, he lived and labored. Those who did not know him, or upon whom his reproofs have fallen, have called him rude, unfeeling, and repulsive. They have not judged him rightly. Not much sand-paper and varnish had been used in his make-up. But a kinder heart never beat in a manly breast. If there was any one foible of humanity which, more than another, he abhorred, it was *pride;* and he smote it in whatever form it reared its head, whether it was in dress, equipage, person, or religion. His teachings on that branch of ethics seldom required more than one lesson. That he built up, from the shade of a sugar tree, perhaps the largest church in the country, and

held the pastorate for more than half a century over as intelligent and refined a people as was anywhere in the West, may be successfully pleaded in bar to all these accusations. No people ever loved their pastor more. Their descendants still revere his memory, and garland his grave. He aided pecuniarily, and otherwise, and gave gratuitous instruction, to more poor young men than has ever been given by any other man, though possessing tenfold the means. He denied himself the luxuries of life that others might luxuriate in learning, and sent forth heralds of the cross in a multitude which no man has yet numbered. He fought error and infidelity in every shape which it assumed. He was a sleepless watchman upon the towers and at the portals of his Zion, and if he could not hurl impostors over its ramparts, he transfixed them to the walls and held them there.

For all this he was admirably fitted by nature and by grace. Byron, in one of his poems, ejaculates: "Oh! for a forty-parson power!" What degree of power he wished for I cannot tell. We are wont to estimate the power of steam by the unit of strength of a horse; but parson-power is a new test. If any mortal man in the ministry ever possessed it forty-fold, it was Dr. McMillan. Perhaps Sidney Smith was thinking of that when he compared Daniel Webster to a "steam engine in trowsers." If he had seen the Doctor in his prime, and heard his stentorian voice, and witnessed his gestures with his whole massive frame, he would have had to say he was an engine in small clothes. He had a most commanding presence, and was endowed with a physical constitution which, until worn out, was a stranger to disease, and knew no fatigue. For many years the youngest man in his Presbytery, he was its leader from the start; not because he sought to be, but because he could not disown the prominence for which God had made him. And although it was among the last wishes of his life that the world would soon forget that such a man as he had ever lived, the world and the Church will be waning to their final goal when his memory will cease to be revered. For whether you trace the career of Western Presbyterianism in the *gospel he preached* and its influences, or in its *religious*, *ecclesiastical*, *educational*, or *missionary* history, or in its *secular relations*, you cannot escape commemorating the life and labors of John McMillan.

APPENDIXES TO SECULAR HISTORY.

No. 1.

JOHN CONNOLLY AND TORIES. (See pp. 313 and 340.)

This once renowned, but now forgotten renegade, was respectably connected. He was a half-brother of Gen. James Ewing, of York county, a valuable Revolutionary officer, eminent also in civil services, and one of the first trustees of Dickinson College. His wife was a daughter of Samuel Semple, Washington's host, at the S. E. corner of Water and Ferry Streets, in 1770, as related in the text. Washington thought well of him then, and subsequently corresponded with him about western lands. He says he was a nephew of Col. Croghan, the Indian agent, and was a "very sensible, intelligent man, who had traveled over a good deal of the western country, both by land and water," and had much at heart a colony on the Cumberland river.

While he was a prisoner, in 1777, Gen. Ewing became bondsman for his good behavior, and took him to his farm to regain his health; but he soon betrayed this confidence, and was recommitted to prison.

He owned much of the land on which the city of Louisville is built, under deeds from Dunmore, in common with Col. John Campbell, one of his Pittsburgh *confreres* and Virginia justices, to whom he made deeds of partition and mortgage after his imprisonment.

When arrested in Maryland, with two accomplices, he had most of his papers very artfully concealed, under Dunmore's supervision, in the "mailpillion" of his portmanteau horse. Enough were found to condemn him, and reveal his purposes. He tried to seduce Col. John Gibson, of Pittsburgh, uncle of the late Chief Justice Gibson, but failed. He succeeded better in corrupting Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott, and Simon Girty, who joined the British in 1778.

Early in 1781, after his release from prison, he is believed to have plotted an attack upon Pittsburgh and other western ports, as related in the following extract from a letter of Gen. Washington to the President of Congress, dated April 25, 1781: "I have received the following intelligence, viz.: Col. Connolly, with his corps, to proceed to Quebec as soon as possible, to be joined in Canada by Sir John Johnson, with a number

of Tories and Indians, said to amount to three thousand [the number must be exaggerated]. Their route to be by Birch Island, Lake Ontario, and Venango. His object is Fort Pitt and all the adjacents posts. Connolly takes with him a number of commissions to persons now residing at Pittsburgh; and several hundred men at that place have agreed to join to make prisoners of Col. Brodhead and all friends of America. The latter part of this intelligence agrees exactly with a discovery which Col. Brodhead has lately made of a correspondence between persons at Fort Pitt and the commandant at Detroit, some of whom have been seized by him. I have communicetad the above to Col. Brodhead, and directed him to secure or remove every suspected person in the vicinity of his post."—"Pennsylvania Archives," ix., 102.

This letter strongly corroborates the statements of Gen. Brodhead, as copied in the text. The late Neville B. Craig, in his "History of Pittsburgh" (p. 162), intimates a doubt upon this evidence whether Connolly was not over sanguine in counting upon many Tories here. He, however, seems not to have seen Gen. Brodhead's letter.

He renewed the effort against Pittsburgh in 1782, and had gone so far as to have his forces collected on Lake Chatauqua, ready for a descent, when a spy reported that Gen. Irvine, then in command at Pittsburgh, had all things in readiness to repel the attack, and it was abandoned. It is probable that he instigated the raid which was consummated in the burning of Hannastown, in July, 1782.

His last appearance was in Kentucky, in 1788, in an effort to procure discontented spirits there to join with the Governor of Canada in the seizure of New Orleans, and the opening of the Mississippi to western commerce, but he was driven away.

His career in detail may be traced through all the documentary annals of his day: Washington's Journal of 1770; Pennsylvania Archives and Colonial Records, and Journals of Congress; also, in Craig's "Olden Time;" Spark's Washington, vols. II., III., VIII., IX.; and see Bancroft's U. S. VII., 161; Albach's "Western Annals," 492; Butler's Kentucky (2d ed.), 183, and Creigh's Hist. Wash. Co., Appendix, pp. 18, 19, 20.

No. 2.

MOUNT MORIAH AND COL. WILSON. (See p. 325.)

The deed is to Col. George Wilson and John Swearingen as trustees. The latter was the father of Van Swearingen, a distinguished officer in Morgan's rifle regiment in the Revolutionary war, for a while a Westmoreland justice of the peace, residing in (now) Fayette, opposite Green-

field, one of the trustees for organizing Washington county, and its firs sheriff.

Col. George Wilson is a historic character. He was a Virginian, from Augusta county, where he had been an officer in the French and Indian war of 1755–62. He came to the West about 1768–'9, and settled on the land where New Geneva now is, owning the land on the river, on both sides of George's creek, to which it is believed he gave name, and being from a locality in Augusta, called Springhill, he caused that name to be given to the township in which he resided. He was a Pennsylvania justice of the peace there while it was part of Bedford county, and his commission was renewed for Westmoreland. Pennsylvania had no more resolute officer than he was in all our boundary troubles, of which frequent mention is made in the text of the preceding sketches. He died in the service of his country as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, Col. Æneas McKay, at Quibbletown, N. J., in April, 1777. He was the grandfather of the late Hon. William G. Hawkins, Senior, of Allegheny county, Pa., and of Lawrence L. Minor, Esquire, and the late Mrs. John Crawford, of Greensboro, Greene county. Dr. McMillan enjoyed his hospitalities for three days and nights upon his emergence from the bewildering forest paths of West Virginia, as told in "Old Redstone," 181.

No. 3.

BEDFORD COUNTY TAX ROLLS, 1773. (See p. 304.)

These old rolls show that all the settled parts of Western Pennsylvania, which in 1773 became Westmoreland county, were then included in eight townships, the taxables of which were as follows:

	Landholders.	Tenants.	Single.
Armstrong	42	1	9
Fairfield	75	2	7
Hempfield	171	22	17
Mt. Pleasant	83	13	13
Pitt	52	20	13
Rosstrevor	88	19	14
Springhill*	308	89	58
Tyrone	92	8	13

These townships are believed to have embraced the following territorial areas, viz.: Armstrong, most of what is now the county of that name, and some, if not the greater part of Indiana county. Fairfield stretched between the Laurel Hill and Chesnut Ridge Mountains. Hempfield took

* Of whom, say 150, of all classes, were in Greene county.

in a wide slope around Greensburgh. Mt. Pleasant, a large district around the village of that name. Pitt embraced about all of Allegheny county, between the rivers Allegheny, Monongahela, and Youghiogheny. It makes a poor show. Rosstrevor covered all of the forks of Yough, up into Fayette county. Springhill extended over all the southwestern part of Fayette, and all of Greene and Washington, then believed to be in Pennsylvania. Tyrone covered all the residue of what is now Fayette, on both sides of the Youghiogheny.

Many of those assessed as landholders were non-residents; as Rev. James Finley, in Rosstrevor, and George Washington, in Tyrone, in which he owned about 1,600 acres at and around Perryopolis, in now Fayette, over the river from Layton's Station.

No. 4.

ORIGIN OF SETTLERS, &c. (See p. 330.)

Among the most interesting minor studies of our early history is to trace the origin of first settlers in the names of localities. For example, take in—

Westmoreland County.—*Hempfield*, a township of that name in Lancaster county; transferred again to one in Mercer county. *Mount Pleasant*, a township in Adams, formerly York county, and a Hundred in Cecil county, Md., transferred also to Washington county, and other Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish localities. *Huntingdon*, a township in Adams, formerly York county. *Rosstrevor*, corrupted to Rostraver, a seaport town and watering place in the County Down, Ireland. It has a monument erected to the memory of Gen. Ross, killed at the battle of North Point, near Baltimore, September, 1814.

Fayette.—*Springhill* and *George*, from Col. George Wilson, as before noted. *Menallen*, a township in Adams, formerly York county. *Bullskin*, a creek in Berkeley county, Va. *German*, because settled by Germans.

Washington County affords the most instructive derivations. Unlike the other western counties, when erected, it had no townships, except parts of the Fayette townships of Springhill and Menallen. By the act of 1781 erecting it, its trustees, John Armstrong, James Edgar, Daniel Leet, Hugh Scott, and Van Swearingen, all of whom I believe were Presbyterians, three of them elders, were required to divide it into townships. they took the Continental number of thirteen. Of these were *Amwell*, the name of a township in Hunterdon county, adjoining Morris county,

N. J., and of a Presbyterian church in the same vicinity, from which came the Lindleys, Cooks, Rev. T. Dodd, and others. *Cecil*, from Cecil county, Md. *Fallowfield*, a township in Chester county, and again transferred to Crawford county. *Nottingham*, a township in Chester county, and a district in Cecil county, Md., as told in the text. *Hopewell*, a township in York, Cumberland, and Bedford counties, and again in Beaver. *Donegal* and *Strabane* are Irish all over, and common in all our Scotch-Irish counties. *Bethlehem*, perhaps, because settled largely by Quakers. Running out of names, Mr. Edgar procured one to be named Smith, in which he and his pastor, Rev. Joseph Smith, resided.

Allegheny County has no names of townships indicative whence its early settlers came. Pittsburgh once had some streets of honored names, as Pitt, St. Clair, Irvine, Hand, Wayne, &c., but they are nearly all effaced by numbers; and what were wont to be known only as numbered streets, are now avenues! some of which are not wide enough for two carts to pass without danger of collision.

No. 5.

YOHOGANIA COUNTY RECORDS. (See page 332.)

They begin with December 23, 1776, and end in 1781.

The following are the "gentlemen justices" who "swore into" their commissions: Joseph Beelor, Joseph Becket, John Campbell, John Cannon, Isaac Cox, William Crawford, John Campbell, Zachariah Connell, John Decamp, Thomas Freeman, Benjamin Frye, John Gibson, William Goe, Wm. Harrison, Benjamin Kirkendall, John McDowell, John McDonald, George McCormick, Oliver Miller, Samuel Newell, Dorsey Pentecost, Matthew Ritchie, James Rogers, Thomas Smallman, Andrew Swearingen, John Stephenson, Geo. Vallandingham, Edward Ward, Joshua Wright, and Richard Yeates. And the following did not "swear in:" Thomas Brown, James Blackiston, John Carmichael, Benjamin Harrison, Jacob Haymaker, Isaac Leet, Sen'r, James McLean, Isaac Meason, John Neville, Philip Ross, and Joseph Vance.

Clerk—Dorsey Pentecost; deputy, Ralph Bowker.

Sheriffs—William Harrison (Isaac Leet, his deputy), George McCormick (his deputies, Hugh Sterling, Joseph Beelor, Benj. Vanmetre, and John Lemon), and Matthew Ritchie (John Sutherland, deputy).

County Lieutenant—Dorsey Pentecost.

Colonels—John Cannon, Isaac Cox, John Stephenson.

Lieutenant-Colonels—Isaac Cox, Joseph Beelor, Geo. Valandingham.

Majors—Gabriel Cox, William Harrison, Henry Taylor.

Captains and Lieutentants—(Too many to name).

Attorneys—Geo. Brent, Wm. Harrison, Samuel Irvin, Philip Pendleton.

Legislators—John Campbell, Wm. Harrison, and Matthew Ritchie.

The first election in the county was held on the Sabbath day—a bad beginning.

Several justices refused to serve as sheriff because of uncertainty of boundaries with Pennsylvania.

For the first eight months the court seems to have sat at Pittsburgh, then for two months at the house of Andrew Heath, thenceforth at the new court house on his "plantation."

The following are the specifications for the court house and jail ordered August 22, 1777: "The Goal and Court House are to be included in one whole and entire building of round, sound oak logs, twenty-four feet long, and sixteen feet wide, two story high. The lower story to be eight feet high, petitioned in the middle with squared hewed logs, with locks and bears to the doors and windows, according to law, which shall be the goal. The upper story to be five feet high in the sides, with a good cabbin roof, with convenient seats for the Court and Bar and clerk's table, to remain in one room, with a pair of stairs on the outside to ascend up to said room, which shall be the place for holding Court, with two floors to be laid with strong hewed logs, the whole compleat and finished in one month from the date hereof, and to be erected on the plantation of Andrew Heath," at such place as three of the justices appointed a building committee should select.

October, 1777.—The building committee ordered to have a stone chimney built in the Court House and jail, in the middle, with three fire places, two below in the jail, and one above in the court room, have it chunked and plastered, a good loft of clapboards, a window in each "glebe" of the C. H., of four panes, of eight by ten.

April 29, 1778.—A pair of stocks, whipping post, and pillory ordered to be built in the C. H. yard, and order renewed November 24, 1778.

November, 1778.—Addition ordered to the building of a room sixteen feet square, one story high, of good logs, cabin roof, and outside wooden chimney, seats, sheriff's box, &c., for a court room.

Every sheriff enters his protest against sufficiency of the jail.

Repeated appointments of justices to take lists of tithables in designated districts, and to tender oath of allegiance.

The following preachers take oath of allegiance in court at several times: William Taylor, William Reno, John Whittaker, and Edward [Robert?] Hughey.

March 24, 1778.—Deed of bargain and sale, Thomas Cook, and Michael

Thomas to [John McDowell for] John McMillan, "clerk," of Fagg's Manor, for three hundred and thirteen acres of land, acknowledged in open court, and ordered to be recorded. [Date September 9, 1777. Price £195 15s. 6d., subject to purchase money, quit rents, &c., to "lord or lords of the fee"—the doctor's home place.]

June 25, 1777.—James Johnson fined twenty shillings for two profane oaths and two profane curses. Same day, same amount for three oaths and one curse; and same day same sum for four oaths.

August 26, 1777.—"Robert Hamilton, a prisoner in the Sheriff's custody, came into Court, and in the grocest and most imperlite manner insulted the Court, and Richard Yates, Gentleman, in particular. Ordered, that the Sheriff confine the feet of the said Robert in the lower rails of the fence for the space of five minutes."

June 24, 1778.—Cotton and wool cards ordered to be distributed in Col. Cox's and Col. Stephenson's battalions, according to the number of women therein.

October 28, 1777.—"Ordered, that the inhabitants of this county have leave to inoculate for the small-pox at their own houses, or such other convenient places as they may think proper."

These are specimens of these curious old records, illustrative of the wants and simplicity of the times.

No. 6.

THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION. (See page 394.)

The following is from Foote's "Sketches of Virginia," First Series, pages 476 and 560:

The meeting of the Synod of Virginia, at Harrisonburgh, in September, 1794, was signalized by an effort of the military to put down the freedom of debate in an ecclesiastical body. The Synod was then composed of the Presbyteries of Hanover, Lexington, Transylvania, Redstone, and Ohio. In Pennsylvania, that popular outburst, known as the "Whiskey Insurrection," had taken place; and many of the insubordinate were members of Presbyterian congregations. Part of the armed force raised in Virginia to quell the insurrection was then encamped at Harrisonburgh. The town and country were greatly excited, and the proceedings of Synod closely watched. As the scene of the insurrection was within the bounds of two of the Presbyteries, Rev. Moses Hoge, D.D., after conference with some of his brethren, proposed an address to the people within those bounds, inculcating obedience to the laws. Rev. William Graham opposed it as uncalled for, as prejudging, in an ecclesiastical

court, the case of a people that felt themselves aggrieved, politically, by the workings of a law that pressed upon them as tyranically as did the Stamp Act upon the Colonies. He maintained that there were wrongs to be redressed rather than a rebellion to be crushed; and that the circumstances of the discontented had been misjudged.

The avowal of these sentiments, in Synod, was followed by an appeal so strong that the motion for an address was lost by a small majority. The excitement among the soldiery was great; violence was threatened to Mr. Graham. Tar and feathers were provided. An officer of high grade, residing in Rockingham county, sent to the Synod a demand of the yeas and nays on the question, and the reason for the decision. This was refused by Synod. The popular rage increased, and the inflamed soldiery were hardly restrained from violence. Mr. Graham, by the advice of friends, retired from the scene of confusion. Dr. Hoge went boldly among the soldiers and citizens, and exhorted them to quietness, and not to disgrace themselves. So great was the influence of his proposed resolution and earnest remonstrances, that a general demand was made for him to preach to them previously to their march westward. He did so; taking for his text Mark xii. 17, and left upon the audience an impression of delight.

It need hardly be added that the Rev. Dr. Hoge was born on Opequon, Virginia, was of Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish parentage, had been a pupil of Mr. Graham, was then a pastor at Shepherdstown, Virginia, afterwards President of Hampden-Sidney College, and Professor of Divinity there. He was the father of Rev. Dr. James Hoge, of Columbus, Ohio, and of Revs. John Blair Hoge and Samuel Davies Hoge. He died in 1820.

Rev. William Graham was born of Scotch-Irish parentage, near Harrisburg, Pa.; graduated at Princeton, 1773, and in 1775 established a classical school at Timber Ridge, in the Valley of Virginia, which, after various changes and removals, still under Mr. Graham's direction, became the College at Lexington, Va. When, in 1791, the Synod of Virginia resolved to patronize two schools for classical and theological training, it put the one in Rockbridge county, Va., under Mr. Graham's care, the other, to be established in Washington county, Pa., to be under the care of Rev. John McMillan. This one became Jefferson College, at Canonsburg; and Reid Bracken, the first on its roll of graduates, in 1802, became a son-in-law of Mr. Graham. Mr. Graham died at Richmond, Va., at the house of Col. Robert Gamble, the father-in-law of William Wirt, June 8, 1799.

THE

FUTURE IN THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

CLOSING ADDRESS,

BY

PROF. SAMUEL J. WILSON, D.D., LL.D.

THE FUTURE IN THE LIGHT OF THE PAST.

"IT is," says Webster, "a noble faculty of our nature which enables us to connect our thoughts, our sympathies, and our happiness with what is distant in place or time; and, looking before and after, to hold communion at once with our ancestors and our posterity. Human and mortal although we are, we are nevertheless not mere isolated beings, without relation to the past or the future. Neither the point of time, nor the spot of earth, in which we physically live, bounds our rational and intellectual enjoyments. We live in the past by a knowledge of its history; and in the future by hope and anticipation. By ascending to an association with our ancestors; by contemplating their example and studying their character; by partaking their sentiments and imbibing their spirit; by accompanying them in their toils; by sympathizing in their sufferings and rejoicing in their successes and their triumphs; we mingle our existence with theirs, and seem to belong to their age. We become their cotemporaries, live the lives which they lived, endure what they endured, and partake in the rewards which they enjoyed. And in like manner, by running along the line of future time, by contemplating the probable fortunes of those who are coming after us, by attempting something which may promote their happiness and leave some not dishonorable memorial of ourselves for their regard, when we shall sleep with the fathers, we protract our own earthly being, and seem to crowd whatever is future, as well as all that is past, into the narrow compass of our earthly existence. Neither is it false or vain to

consider ourselves as interested and connected with our whole race, through all time; allied to our ancestors; allied to our posterity; closely compacted on all sides with others; ourselves being but links in the great chain of being, which begins with the origin of our race, runs onward through its successive generations, binding together the past, the present, and the future, and terminating at last, with the consummation of all things earthly, at the throne of God."

Thus, profoundly, eloquently, and delicately has the great orator expressed the spirit of this occasion. For two days we have been "living in the past; we have contemplated the example and studied the character of our illustrious ancestors in the ecclesiastical line; we have accompanied them in their toils, we have sympathized in their sufferings, and rejoiced in their successes and triumphs." But in order to complete the view, it is necessary that we look forward, as well as backward; that we contemplate the future as well as the past. Behind us lies the eventful past, with its thrilling adventures, its heroic endurance, its toils, its self-denials, its perilous journeyings, its arduous services, its mighty sermons, its wonderful revivals, its obstacles, its discouragements, and its splendid successes. These are all achieved. The history is written, the record is made up. But before us lie unwritten and unknown histories, and responsibilities as weighty as the destinies of our country, as wide as the world, and as high as the throne of God. From this point, radiant with the memories of the past, and crowded with the interests and issues of the present, it is well for us to look down, for a little, into the future. "What is to be the practical outcome of all that we have heard, and learned, and felt? Shall we listen to these recitals complacently, felicitating ourselves upon our "pleasant lot and goodly heritage," with just a grain of gratitude for all that our forefathers have done and suffered for us, and then settle ourselves at ease in Zion? If so, woe be unto us! God forbid that we should be incited by what we have heard to no higher task than to instituting comparisons between the privations of former generations and the luxuries of this generation. "A most lame and impotent conclusion" that would be! Rather let the motto and the moral of the occasion be, "*unto whomsoever much is given of him shall much be required.*" If amidst the perils of the wilderness, with their scanty resources, the fathers achieved so much, we should be ashamed that

we have done so little; and if privilege is to be taken as a standard of, or as an incentive to, duty, what should be the measure of devotion! Our opportunities of doing good are to theirs as the railroad is to the Indian trail, or the mountain bridle-path; as the electric telegraph is to the stage coach; as the modern mower and reaper are to the old-fashioned scythe and sickle; as the steam-engine is to the ponderous, slow-going water-wheel. Fathers and brothers, there is danger that the upshot of all this historical review will be our saying to ourselves complacently: "How much better off we are than our forefathers were! How much better time we have than they had!" We sometimes delude ourselves with the belief that we are grateful, when we are only congratulating ourselves that God gives so much and requires so little. Rather let us remember that privilege and duty are correlative terms. Where the Lord gives much he also requires much. Let all the voices of the past awake us to duty. Let the echo of the war-whoop be a trumpet-call to summon us to heroic doing and daring as good soldiers of the cross.

From the able and interesting histories to which we have listened one fact emerges, to which we should give most earnest heed. The fact is this, that the foundations of this Western Zion were laid in times of revival. Is not this the crowning fact of the history? In the rude forts which were for a defence against savages; in the log huts of the pioneers; in the primitive "meeting-houses," and in the groves, where the sacramental table was spread, there were glorious displays of divine grace. As years roll on, and as, one by one, the distinctive lines in the picture of these times wear out, this one of revivals will be the last to be obliterated.

In times of revival divine truth is more vividly perceived and more profoundly felt than at other times; and those who are then born into the kingdom are, ordinarily, men and women of robust faith, sturdy principle, deep conviction, and stalwart resolution. Just such men and women God gave to the Church in those days; and he gave them to the Church in times of revival. Does not the Church need reinforcements of this kind now? How are they to be obtained? The answer is contained in the history to which we have been listening. The Spirit of God awaits the invitation of the Church to manifest his power in the conversion and consecration of

millions in this land; and when that day comes, we shall have a generation of Christians who will not be frightened out of their wits when Tyndall sneers at prayer, when Spencer says "evolution," or when Darwin says "ape." In such a revival we should find the solution of all our difficulties. It would open men's hearts, and empty their pockets, and fill the treasury of the Lord; it would take the Gospel to the masses and bring the masses to the Gospel, and it would confound infidelity. While pseudo-scientists and philosophers are attempting to prove that the Bible is a fable, a revived Church will take that Bible as its standard, and make its truths the faith of the world. Let such power come through revival, and a pittance of the wealth of the Church will not have to be squeezed into the treasury of the Lord by skillful expedients; but resources will be contributed as spontaneously and as profusely as the Israelites, at Sinai, contributed material for the construction of the Tabernacle; let such power come, and ministers will be ready to preach the Gospel to perishing sinners without waiting to see whether or not their t's are all crossed and their i's all dotted; let such power come, and tens of thousands of professing Christians will find something more and something better to do in the Church than to tax the energies of pastors and elders in nursing, fondling, and coddling them.

Another lesson in this connection is, that these revivals were produced, sustained, and carried forward, under God, by the *discriminating preaching of the distinctive doctrines of the Gospel.* The ruin of man through sin, and his recovery through grace, were the truths which were thundered by McMillan; which were the burden of the "silver tongue" of Marquis, and the substance of the "war sermon" of McCurdy. Nor did they preach these doctrines in a hesitating, half-apologetic manner, as though human pride might be wounded by the announcement; as though they were not quite sure that civilization had not outgrown the Gospel; but they preached them with conviction and authority, and consequently with power. They "*believed*," and therefore they "*spoke*." If we are to have revivals such as our fathers witnessed, they will come through the preaching of the truth as the Holy Ghost has revealed it. In this regard we have not advanced a step beyond our ancestors.

Moreover, with a wise forecast, and in a most catholic spirit, the

fathers made provision for the future of the Church, in the founding of academies and colleges. They founded literary institutions in the wilderness within sound of the Indian's war-whoop, and within sight of the smoke of the Indian's wigwam. Thus, and then, and there, they laid the foundations of our strength and greatness; and they laid them on the immovable rocks of Calvinistic doctrine and liberal education. As the fathers laid the foundations, so must the structure reared upon the foundations be conserved and carried forward to completion. We must not let the lamp go out which was lighted in the wilderness. As there was room in the camp of Israel for Eldad and Medad to prophesy, so now there is room and there is opportunity for all who love Christ to labor in his cause; yet there will ever remain a necessity for an educated ministry; and as the race advances in intelligence the standard of ministerial education must become higher and higher. Even in the pressing necessities of the times, the fathers "laid hands suddenly on no man."

In the light of the past, therefore, may we not interpret the future? The prime need of the Church is *revival;* revival to invigorate her faith, to quicken her zeal, to widen her vision, and to stimulate her benevolence. In order to bring about such a result the Lord has but *one means*, and that is the preaching the truth as he has revealed it. If, therefore, the Church be loyal to her Lord and to his truth, unswayed by any gusts of passion or by any spirit of policy, holding right on her way, true to her charter and her commission, then there awaits her another century of success greater even than that which is past. But if she be disloyal to the truth, and through cowardice deny her Lord even in his own house, and at his own altars, then indeed has she commemorated her first and her last Centennial. In the truth of God lies her safety and success. Along the line marked out by the example and footsteps of the fathers lies her history, if she is to have a history at all.

APPENDIXES TO RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

NOTE.

THREE of the communications in this Appendix are from venerable and esteemed brethren, who are among the few that yet remain as connecting links between the ministry of our fathers and that of our younger brethren of the present day. Each of these men has his own biography, which it is yet too soon to sketch. The information which they have given is most thankfully received, and will be welcomed by all our readers.

APPENDIX A.—(*See p.* 41.)

THE VANCE'S FORT REVIVAL.

Still more recently Dr. Stockton's account has been published in the *Presbyterian Banner*, as well as given to me in a private letter. It is cheerfully introduced here for the sake of the "truth of history." A. W.

January, 1876.

Efforts are now being made to gather up the early history of the Presbyterian Church in Western Pennsylvania, and it is the duty of all to make that history as true as possible. And in regard to the

"history of the origin of the work of grace in Vance's Fort," it is believed by the Session of the Church of Cross Creek, and others, that there are some corrections which ought to be made while I have the evidence in my possession.

[After quoting the account as given in the text on the authority of the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, and of his son the Rev. John M. Stevenson, D.D., of New York, Dr. Stockton proceeds as follows:]

In this account it is believed there are three inaccuracies, viz.: 1st. There were pious men in both Wells' and Vance's Fort before Joseph Patterson came into Cross Creek. Meetings for religious worship began to be held in Wells' and Vance's Forts in the winter of 1776–77. In Wells' Fort the meetings were led by John Morrison, Robert McCready, Wm. McCandless, and Samuel Strain; and in Vance's Fort by Major Wm. Vance (on whose farm the fort was), James Campbell, John Stone, Robert Barr, and Wm. Wilson; also in the summer of 1779 by James Edgar. All these were in Vance's Fort before Mr. Patterson arrived in the country, and each led the worship in his turn. Again. 2d. Thos. Marquis and his wife Jane were converted before the arrival of Mr. Patterson in Cross Creek. In answer to the prayers of the pious, the Holy Spirit was poured out on the meeting in Vance's Fort, and a number were led to Jesus. This revival occurred before the autumn of 1778, and Mr. Marquis and his wife were among the number of the converts at that time. Accordingly, when Rev. James Power preached at the gate of Vance's Fort, the first gospel sermon ever heard in Cross Creek, on the 14th of September, 1778, twenty-one children were baptized after the sermon, and then and there Mr. Marquis and his wife Jane presented their first-born to receive the rite of baptism. At this time Mr. Patterson had not crossed the mountains. Again. 3d. The congregations of Cross Creek and Upper Buffalo united, and made out a call for the ministerial services of the Rev. Joseph Smith, on the 21st of June, 1779. This was several months before Mr. Patterson came into the country. Mr. Smith, of Chanceford and Slate Ridge, visited and preached several sermons in Buffalo and Cross Creek, in April, 1779, and then returned to York county. Mr. James Edgar arrived in Cross Creek in the summer of 1779. He had been an elder in Slate Ridge. He was present, and in a great measure influenced the congregations to make out the call for

Mr. Smith, on the 21st of June. He was appointed to carry the call down to the Presbytery of Newcastle, which met at Carlisle, Pa., and before his return he revisited York county. He had been acquainted with Mr. Patterson there, and mainly through his influence Mr. Patterson was induced to remove to Cross Creek, which he did in the autumn of 1779. Mr. Patterson was ardently pious and zealous, was soon chosen to be an elder in Cross Creek, and afterwards was licensed to preach the gospel, and was ordained and installed pastor of the congregation of Raccoon.

If it be inquired on what authority I make this statement, I answer, upon the authority of Robert McCready, Joseph Vance, Sr., and James Edgar. All these were for many years venerated elders of the church of Cross Creek. Robert McCready was a Scotchman, converted under the ministry of Rev. Mr. Strain, in York county, Pa., taught school for some time in that county, came to Cross Creek in the winter of 1776–77, was present at the first sermon preached by Rev. Power, at Vance's Fort, and in education was superior to most of the pioneers. Joseph Vance was the oldest son of Major Wm. Vance, the proprietor of the fort, was bred up in the fort, was converted under the ministry of Mr. Smith, and appointed an elder of Cross Creek along with Thomas Marquis and Joseph Patterson, and for some years was an influential member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania. James Edgar was an elder in the church in York county, afterwards was a judge of the court in Washington county, and one of the strongest pillars of the Presbyterian Church in Western Pennsylvania in his day. Three more competent and credible witnesses cannot be found in the pale of the Presbyterian Church. I have been the pastor of the congregation of Cross Creek, Pa., for forty-nine years. The above statement was taken from the lips of elders McCready and Vance, while they were living, and from the papers of Judge Edgar, now in my possession, and it is published now for the sole end of vindicating the truth of history.

APPENDIX B.—(*See p.* 54.)

FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE FALLING WORK.

THE following illustration of the falling work has not appeared elsewhere since 1805. It is taken from an account written, as is supposed, by a gentleman of the Pittsburgh bar, under date of June 24, 1804, and published as a communication in *Cramer's Pittsburgh Almanac* for 1805. The writer graphically describes his approach on horseback to an assemblage of worshippers gathered around a tent by the roadside. It is the evening of a communion season, and he tarries for the service. At the close of this he witnesses the falling exercises, which he thus describes: "The hearts of the people now became softened, even unto repentance. They are at first gently stricken—they swoon—they die for a moment a righteous death. Recovering their breath, they shriek and cry aloud. Two, nay, even four, could scarcely hold one. Respiration is quick, heavy, and painful—the countenance is distorted—the body convulsed—they now sigh, now cry, and weep bitterly.

"My feelings were alarmed, and my soul sighed for an explanation of this extraordinary work. The voices of the ministers were drowned. 'Tis now eleven o'clock [P.M.]. They endeavor to disperse the people, going themselves. Many retire to their tents and homes. Remaining on the ground, my attention was particularly called to a female—for I observed no males in this situation—who seemed to be more violently worked than any of the rest, for there were about fifty thus stricken, and who were nearly all at the same time hollowing aloud, and sending up prayers to Heaven. This female was prostrated her whole length on the ground. Her feet were held. She was strong and robust, and of a middle age. She spoke, with very little intermission, as fast and as loud as she could hollow, for near an hour. Her address was to the feelings of sinners. I thought it well worded and sensible, and still more so on being informed that the girl was blind, and had been so since the age of three years. Having perfectly exhausted herself, she fell into a deathly sleep, and neither moved hand nor foot nor head while I tarried, for I could not but watch her with more than common curiosity. Her pulse

was scarcely to be felt, and her joints were fixed in their sockets; nor could her arms or fingers, which were fully extended by her sides, be moved without a risk of dislocating them. The features of her face were much drawn, and nothing of life seemed to remain but a long, slow breathing. Expressing a wish to remove her to a covering, I was informed that she had frequently been left in this torpid state, if I may be permitted the expression, all night. No signs of any alteration on her, and it being nearly two o'clock in the morning, leaving two to take care of this 'patient of God,' I mounted my horse and resumed my road to Pittsburgh. The moon shone remarkably bright, the night was calm, and as still as the silent vaults of the dead. This added to the solemnity of the reflections that would naturally occur from an event so extraordinary, nay, so new, so mysterious?"

This account is the more noticeable as being from a non-clerical source. The writer was probably returning on Sabbath (lawyer like) from a meeting of court at Steubenville, and he halts at the Cross Roads Church (Macurdy's), which stood by the wayside. We are indebted for the account to James Veech, Esq., who rescued it from oblivion by copying it from an old number of the almanac.

The following is another illustrative instance of the *bodily exercise*, of a recent date, and in another hemisphere. It is found in the *Foreign Missionary* for July, 1874:

Letter of Rev. A. L. Blackford, Rio Janeiro, April 24, 1874.

"God's Power upon the Soul.—On Sabbath, April 5, we celebrated the Lord's Supper, and received and baptized four converts from Rome, and on the 12th inst., thirteen children were baptized. The case of one of the four converts, above alluded to, is peculiar, and an unusual manifestation of the direct power of God with men. He is a very intelligent and active man, and quite well educated. In May or June of last year, his father—also a very intelligent man, and a retired military officer—and himself came into our service, the first time they had ever been at Protestant worship. The sermon was on the text: 'Prove all things, hold fast,' etc., and taught that true religion is a rational thing, and not only bears, but courts, the strictest scrutiny of reason. As they passed out, the old gentleman said to me, 'That discourse expressed my views.' Hence-

forward father and son and other members of the family were very regular attendants, and the children came to our Sabbath-school. The son was, however, an avowed infidel, and taught his views boldly and loudly in public evening lectures, in a school which he was directing; and further, had his lectures published. He was evidently sincere in his views, and desirous of knowing the truth. He took all the books we could furnish him in Portuguese and Spanish on the evidences of Christianity. And I have since learned from his father, that for a good while they had spent long hours at night reading, studying, and discussing the subject; the son all the while calling himself, and believing himself to be, a pure materialist. He had heard and read of spiritualism, and, though holding its ideas in contempt, concluded one day in February last to try some experiments on his own account. On the 20th of that month he came to my study in a strange and dolorous state of mental excitement. He told me what he had been doing, showed me a lot of writings, some in intelligible words, and the rest in signs, marks, and scratches, which to me was so much meaningless scribbling, which he said his hand had been forced to make by some unseen but irresistible power; and most of which he considered he could read and interpret, and which, as he rendered it to me, was a strange mixture of truth and the wildest nonsense, and yet to him it evidently had all the force of reality. I was soon satisfied that argument was useless in such a case, and hence avoided it. Two days later I was surprised to see him in his place on Sabbath. The sermon was on the sympathy of Jesus. He listened with a quiet, but very earnest attention; and there was a very unusual manifestation of feeling in the congregation. At the close of the service the young man was found sitting in his seat, unable to move hand or foot, or open his eyes. The body was not rigid, yet would remain in the position in which it was or was placed. He continued thus for about half an hour, during which time he opened his eyes but once, and for an instant only. Yet, on coming to himself, he knew perfectly what had been done and said around him. Amongst his first words were: 'I accept the Bible now as true, and the inspired Word of God, and Christ as a divine Saviour, and I intend to profess my faith in this Presbyterian Church.' These and other truths he steadfastly affirmed, whilst for some days he

seemed fully persuaded that he had visions, and received direct divine spiritualistic instructions and prophetic intimations. In two or three days he gave up spiritualistic experiments as useless and wrong and delusive. The night before his attack on Sabbath, he had slept scarcely any, and very little for several nights and days previous. His idea was that during his lethargic state his spirit was out of the body and looking on it, and cognizant of all that was passing; and thoughts like these passed through his spirit: There lies what I contended was all there was of me, now a mass of inert matter, and the spirit, which I ignored or denied, now looks upon it and reasons about it.

"I do not mean now to analyze the facts; I cannot even give an adequate idea of them. My impression, as an eye-witness, is that his cognizance of what was passing was not through his bodily senses. He believes that God took hold of him thus to show him his errors. And, as it were, a voice speaking thrilled through his soul, saying: 'Power belongeth unto God! Power belongeth unto God!' He says that when the conviction of God's being, power, and omnipresence rushed in upon his soul, it seemed as if it would crush him out of existence; but when he saw Christ as a divine Saviour, and felt himself pardoned, peace came, and love and confidence filled his spirit. It took a good many days to restore the ordinary quiet of body and mind, and his family and friends were in great suspense as to the result. I could not doubt from the beginning that the Spirit of God was at work with him. I did not feel called upon to separate with any nice distinction how far his extraordinary experience might be the effect of divine power, and what in it might be caused by human weakness, preconceived ideas, and the struggles of unbelief and hostile spiritual powers to maintain the ascendancy over a once faithful ally. We were satisfied that the evident results—a quiet and humble faith in Christ as his Saviour—was a victory of the divine word and Spirit, and hence we received him to the visible Church of God."*

* In a recent interview with the writer of the above, I learn that this man still maintains a consistent Christian character, and that his father, mother, and sister have also become members of the Church.

A. W.

April, 1876.

APPENDIX C.—(*See p* 59.)

FURTHER NOTICES OF ELDER ROBERT CAMPBELL.

By Rev. Adam Torrance.

New Alexandria, Pa., Dec. 24, 1875.

Rev. A. Williams, D. D.:

Dear Brother:—I preached in Donegal Church, Sabbath, May 19, 1838, Rev. Samuel Swan, the pastor, being absent attending a meeting of the General Assembly. At the close of the afternoon sermon, and after the benediction had been pronounced, Mr. Campbell, a large, gray-headed man of over four-score years, immediately spoke and requested the congregation to be seated a few minutes, which was accordingly done. He then commenced an exhortation, the most remarkable one, in some respects, I ever heard from a layman. The pastor's return was not expected for several Sabbaths, and no further supplies were provided, and his object was to persuade the people to come to church and sing and pray and hear the Scriptures read. He urged the duty by the consideration that it was the way and the place to obtain God's blessing—that Sabbaths spent altogether at home were apt to be spent in a careless and drowsy manner—that it would cheer the heart of their pastor to learn on his return that the prayer-meetings had been well attended. Mr. C. made a happy use of many Scripture texts in the course of his exhortation, and concluded by saying, in his peculiar manner and utterance: "Now, brethren, old and young, do come out next Sabbath, and every following Sabbath, otherwise the grass will grow up so rank about these church doors and these hitching-trees, that strangers passing by will conclude that it is a forsaken church."

Mr. Campbell took me home with him, and during the evening and the following morning gave me an account of some of the incidents of his life, and of some of his religious experience, which was exceedingly thrilling and interesting, some notes of which I made on my return home, and from which I take the following facts:

His father, Robert Campbell, settled with his family in Ligonier Valley, prior to the Revolutionary War. On a certain day in the

month of July, 1776, the father being absent from home, a party of Indians came suddenly on his two sons, Robert and William, while in a field some distance from the house hoeing corn, and made them prisoners. The Indians immediately made for the house, where were Mrs. Campbell and the younger children—Thomas, Polly, Ibby, Sarah, and an infant on the mother's breast. The mother, attempting to escape with her infant in her arms, received a fatal blow on her head with a tomahawk, and, falling upon her child, killed it, as it was found dead and the mother lying on it.

All the children as above named were taken captives. Two horses were also taken, on which the youngest two girls were carried. But Sarah, the youngest, being unable to hold herself on the horse behind an Indian, was killed and left about a mile from the house. The Indians, with their captives, crossed the Kiskiminetas somewhere below Saltsburg, and pursued their way into the northwestern part of New York State. The captives were separated, and part of them taken into Canada. Thomas was bought of the Indians by an English officer and sent to England. The two sisters, after being four years in captivity, were liberated and returned to Ligonier Valley. William obtained his liberty and returned about the close of the war.

Robert, the principal subject of this narrative, after being in captivity six years, seized an opportunity which offered, and, with another white prisoner, made his escape, and through many dangers and with much privation and suffering, made his way back to Ligonier Valley; and when I was at his house, in 1838, owned and lived on the tract of land formerly owned by his father, and on which his mother had been killed and the children made prisoners.

He enjoyed but limited advantages of religious instruction in his early youth, yet being of an inquiring turn of mind, he gave considerable attention to the doctrines of the Bible, and tried to understand them, as they were generally believed and taught. But as he himself said, he subjected those doctrines too much to the test of reason and experience, and left out of view the incomprehensible perfections of God. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body appeared to his mind utterly incredible.

A circumstance occurred during his captivity which served to strengthen his unbelief in that doctrine.

A fellow-prisoner, who twice attempted to escape, was pursued and recaptured both times. By attempting to escape a second time, he forfeited his life, and was accordingly bound to a sapling at the head of a ravine, and with a pile of wood built around him and fired, he was burned to ashes. All the white captives in possession of the Indians of that place—Robert Campbell being one of them—were obliged to witness the scene, as a warning against attempts to escape. The night following there was a very heavy fall of rain, and soon afterwards Campbell visited the scene of the burning and found the ashes and remaining brands, and everything else on and about the spot, completely swept away by the land-flood.

Where, he asked himself, are the particles of which that body was composed? Some of them evaporated and diffused through the air, others mingled with ashes and various forms of rubbish and swept into the stream below; and how can they ever be collected and re-united so as to form a living body? Such were his silent reflections on the subject, and more than ever was his unbelief in the doctrine of the resurrection confirmed.

After his return to Ligonier Valley he occasionally heard sermons by uneducated preachers, but received no light on the subject of his doubts. Hearing of a minister who was to preach at a certain place (I think it was Dr. Power), he resolved to go and hear him. The doctrine of the resurrection was not the leading subject of the sermon, but was a branch of the principal subject, and was briefly explained, and some of the objections to it answered. The minister's last answer to objectors was given in the words of the Saviour to the Sadducees: "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God." At this point of his narrative Mr. C. raised his hand, and, with peculiar emphasis, said: "That word—'the power of God'—brought a flood of light into my soul, and sent all my doubts adrift, and the devil has never since been permitted to trouble me on that subject."

ADAM TORRANCE.

APPENDIX D.—(*See p.* 60.)

DR. JENNINGS' REMINISCENCES.

SHARON, PA., January 8, 1876.

REV. A. WILLIAMS, D.D.:

MY DEAR BROTHER:—I cheerfully accept your invitation, as chairman of the committee on the publication of the histories furnished at the Memorial Convention, to add something that might be useful. This I attempt, believing that as time progresses reminiscences of the past will be more interesting to posterity.

Having resided in different places, within the bounds of the "four Synods," from the years 1810 to 1830, and having had a personal acquaintance with a majority of the ministers and with many of the elders, and with some of the ecclesiastical occurrences, I *ought* to be able to add something to the excellent productions of my junior brethren.

THE FALLING WORK,

so denominated, occurred chiefly between the years 1802 and 1807. Though I saw but few cases, I observed the effects of it on many persons afterwards. The "solemn weight of eternal things," which had prostrated the body, continued to impress the minds of its subjects more than is usual with Christians. The results, in most cases, were salutary and permanent. Private duties were more generally performed; attention to public ordinances was punctual; the Lord's Supper was celebrated with much solemnity and deep feeling. The communion tables, in the summer season, were spread in the grove near the church, covered with white linen. The communicants passed along and were seated, with streaming eyes, singing the hymns, "'Twas on that dark, that doleful night," or, "How condescending and how kind," or other affecting verses. After which, impressive words and prayer were uttered by ministers in deep sympathy with the sufferings of the Son of God. Such occasions were attended with conviction on the minds of the unconverted, more than at other times. Many that had been subjects of the bodily exercise remained monuments of God's grace. I often

saw a man serving the Lord's table, as an elder, who had been a physician, and so hostile to the work of God that he was reputed to have said that if any of his family fell, he would raise them with a cowhide. At one time, talking near the assembled congregation, he felt a sudden impression and endeavored to flee, but fell to the ground by the power of the Holy Spirit, which eventuated in a saving change. His demeanor in after life was in conformity to his profession and office. There were cases of prostration of body, and wailing, which I saw and heard, where there was no visible change in the life. Such helped to show the correctness of the opinion of President Edwards, as given by him in his work on "Revivals," that being overpowered in body is no evidence, separately considered, of a change in the soul.

CAUSES OF A DECREASE OF SPIRITUALITY AND IN THE NUMBER OF CONVERSIONS.

First. The *common use of whiskey* probably contributed more to this decrease than any other single cause. There is reason to believe that its use was not so general previous to the Insurrection as it was subsequently; and especially it was not so much in use during the revival. The people practiced on a former mistaken notion that spirituous liquors were necessary to labor, medicinal to those in a new country, and their use a mark of hospitality. Being under their influence was not always looked upon as disgraceful and dangerous. Hence, many of the sons of parents who had been eminent for piety, acquired such habits of intoxication that they were carried to an early grave. The assembling together of the younger persons on holidays at shooting-matches, rafflings, huskings, the harvest field, log-rollings, "raisings," and the various frolics connected with the preparation of flax and wool for garments, were thought by many good people to make the use of ardent spirits necessary; and with their use the spirit of the Lord decreased His influence, and conversions were not so numerous as in former years, nor the piety of the Church so distinguished.

The *Second* cause that diminished the good results of the great revival, was the *war with Great Britain*, in 1812. The excitement of separating from family and friends, the perils of going to fight the Indians, and "to take Canada," led some to forget the God of their fathers, and others to indulge more freely in strong drink, in

order to keep up their spirits. The depressions when news of defeat would arrive, the excitement on intelligence of victory, with the illumination of houses; the firing of cannon, and the increase of the spirit of war, were all unfriendly to the spirit of religion. That these and other causes decreased the spirituality of the Church, I learned from the lips of the former pastor of my childhood, Rev. Thomas Marquis, about the year 1820.

Thirdly. Gradual neglect of Prayer another cause. The last public exhortation which Rev. Elisha McCurdy made was in the lecture room of the First Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh, at the meeting of our Presbytery. He rose, and in his solemn, measured way said: "Brethren, I have seen great changes in the state of the church. There have been times when it appeared that all would come to desolation, which alarmed true Christians, so that they began to call upon God, and soon the Spirit began to move upon the dry bones, and then the same truths that had been heard a hundred times without effect before, would melt the people into repentance, and sinners would be gathered in." His oft repeated watchword was then given, most affectionately: "Wake up, brethren, wake up."

NOTICES OF SOME PROMINENT ELDERS.*

As it could not be expected that the Ecclesiastical historians of the Memorial Convention should give notices of the many elders of early days who are worthy of being held in remembrance, I take the opportunity to give a short notice of a few whose example should, in *some particular*, be imitated. I must confine myself to those who officiated previous to 1830, and who have gone to their rest.

The first that should be noticed is Ebenezer Finley, the son of Rev. James Finley, who crossed the mountains with his father in 1772, at the age of fourteen years. He is described in "Old Redstone," page 284, as having had "a perilous adventure with the Indians." It is as an elder of Dunlap's Creek Church, in Fayette county, and as an extraordinary laborer in Sabbath-schools and in praying societies, that he should be remembered. After the service was over at the church, he would hasten to New Salem, five miles

* Dr. Jennings was appointed some years ago, by the Synod of Pittsburgh, as historian of the eldership, in place of Rev. Joseph Smith, D.D., deceased. A. W.

distant, where grog-shops, horse-racing, and similar conduct prevailed, and such were his exhortations and influence that, under God, these evil influences ceased, and now there are three houses of worship in that village.

He sometimes experienced a wonderful elevation of soul by the Spirit of God, which, while it absorbed him, did not prevent him from being "diligent in business." It is recorded by the late pastor of that church, Dr. Samuel Wilson, and the same has been told me by his son and successor, of the same name, that upon one occasion, when in the harvest field (whether "in the body or out of the body," he could scarcely tell), he was so stimulated by divine influence that he reaped vastly more than was usual for one man. He was so devoted to family worship that the evening before he died he wished to be lifted out of bed to engage in that duty, but when he could not, he still led in the worship, and then soon slept in the Lord.

Michael Finley, brother of Ebenezer, and an elder of Rehoboth Church, Westmoreland county, was also an ardent, devoted servant of the Lord. Those who attended the religious convention at Pittsburgh, in 1842, will remember the deep feeling manifested by him at that time, both in speech and in prayer. William and Joseph Finley were also brothers of the two preceding, and elders of Rehoboth Church. They were the sons of that worthy minister, who crossed the mountains in 1770 or 1771.

Hon. Charles Porter should be mentioned as the first who took a decided stand to resist the common use of whiskey, and endured reproach because he would rather pay extra wages than give it to his harvest men. His good example in this respect was soon followed by many others. He was a long-headed statesman, and a judicious counselor in the church.

Robert Baird, an elder also of Dunlap's Creek Church, loved the Sacred Scriptures, and committed large portions of them to memory. He was the father of the Rev. Dr. Robert Baird, who crossed the ocean numerous times to promote the kingdom of Christ, and being diligent in business, he stood "before kings" and pled the cause of temperance and religion.

Dr. Jacob Jennings, the pastor of Dunlap's Creek Church, was aided by other useful elders during this period, but limited space does not permit further notice.

Benjamin Williams, an elder of Mingo Church, and long one of the most efficient trustees of Jefferson College, and a director of the Western Theological Seminary, was eminent for gentlemanly deportment, devoted piety, and for the interest he took in the cause of temperance and the affairs of the church generally. He was peculiar in this, that he set apart a fixed portion of the proceeds of his mills for benevolent objects; and that others might not know of his bounty, he made me the almoner of it.

John Hannen, of Allegheny city, was an intelligent elder, sympathetic in his spirit, bland in his manners, and yet one who did not decline to defend the oppressed, and to oppose the sins of intemperance and slavery, when to do so was not popular.

Francis G. Bailey, of Pittsburgh, with peculiar suavity and zeal in his master's service, gave much of his time to the visitation of the sick and the poor, and the families of the Church of which he was an overseer. He was one of the chief helpers of his pastor, Rev. Francis Herron, D.D.

William Courtney, of Hiland Church, exercised great hospitality, judiciously avoided unnecessary discipline in the church, and was willing often to cross the Ohio river by night, through some dangers, to aid in the religious exercises on the neighboring island, where God was pouring out his Spirit upon the people there.

Charles Hawkins, of Washington, was gifted in social and public prayer, both as to the matter and manner. His power of peculiar usefulness in that way was probably the result of his humility and his habits of private devotion. With no more than an ordinary education, he was taught by "the Father that seeth in secret," and was able to give wise counsel to those inquiring the way of salvation.

John Nesbit, of Bethany Church, Allegheny county, furnished evidence that, like Enoch, "he walked with God." He had a peculiar unction of the Holy Spirit, and none could be with him long without being greatly profited and stirred up by his godly conversation.

Samuel Riddle, Sr., of Montours Church, Allegheny county, possessed a strong and discriminating mind, and when employed in defending the truth of God against its adversaries, he did it wisely and ably. As a counselor in matters of difficulty, his services were very valuable.

HUGH LEE, of Cross Creek, Washington county, was eminently a practical man, prepared "for every good work." He had seen the work of God in the great revival (as had nearly all the elders I have mentioned), and he kept up a lively state of piety till the close of life. He labored under impaired sight of one eye for many years. He is the father of the elder of his own name, and was the father-in-law of the late excellent George Marshall, D.D.

JOHN MILLIGAN, of Steubenville, combined more of all the excellencies and usefulness of an elder than is usually found in one man. His former pastor, Dr. O. Jennings, and his more recent one, Dr. C. C. Beatty, esteemed him as one of the best of men. He was blessed with a pious posterity.

There were many other elders not officiating so near the beginning of our first ecclesiastical century, who may be enrolled as particularly useful and worthy by some future historian.

EARLY MINISTERS IN OHIO,

who labored within the territory now occupied by the Synods of Cleveland and Columbus.

Having been led to dwell and travel in different places within these Synods, from 1819 to 1830, I have had opportunities of extensive acquaintance with the former ministers. None are now left of all who preached in that half of the State of Ohio, in 1828, but Rev. Dr. C. C. Beatty, and perhaps one more. I shall write only of those I knew.

I was present at the formation of the Presbytery of Steubenville, in October, 1819, and not one of those *eight* ministers now survive. REV. LYMAN POTTER, the eldest, brought "forth fruit in old age." When his voice and strength were so far exhausted that he could not be heard in a church of ordinary size, he filled his saddle-bags with Bibles and the few tracts that could be obtained in those days, and went back into the State, where there were a few settlers in different places, and gathered them into small houses and preached. This lovely old gentleman won many by his kindness, and ever spake as a dying man to dying men.

REV. JOHN WRIGHT was ordained by the Presbytery of Ohio, in 1806, pastor of the Hock-hocking and Rush Creek Churches, as a licentiate. He itinerated extensively in Virginia and North Carolina, and in the destitute settlements of Ohio, and perhaps did more

than any other one to prepare the way for the organization of churches in the latter State. He was a man of great energy, and when on a visit to Liverpool, England, to attend to the business of the estate of a deceased brother, the inhabitants of that city, hearing that a preacher had come from the wilds of America, turned out numerously to hear one whom they supposed to be an Indian. His chief place of labor was Lancaster, Ohio, where he gathered a large church, and was much beloved by the people.

The Rev. James Culbertson, D.D., settled in Zanesville. He was a preacher with an unusually deep-toned and solemn voice, and highly respected for his many excellent characteristics; but he was called away rather suddenly in the midst of great usefulness.

Rev. James Hoge, D.D., was tall, with dark hair and eyes, plain and grave as a man, impressive and solemn as a speaker, and was much beloved by the brethren of the Synod of Ohio. He lived to see the city of Columbus and his church attain the ability to entertain the General Assembly, in 1862. He was the head of the Presbyterian family in that part of Ohio, and greatly honored by the whole Church. He took no active part in causing the division of the Church in 1837. He was long an efficient trustee of the Ohio University, at Athens. His life and writings are worthy of more permanent record.

I knew many of the first ministers in Ohio, who were laborious, faithful servants of the Lord Jesus, and who have entered into their rest, though they were about a generation subsequent to those who first preached in Western Pennsylvania. Space will only permit me to record their names, as worthy to be remembered by posterity. Such were Rev. Messrs. James Snodgrass, of Wayne county; James Scott and James Cunningham, of Knox county; Thomas Barr, of Euclid and Wooster; John Rhea, D.D., of Beach Spring; Joseph Treat, of Sharon; John Seward of Aurora; William Hanford, of Hudson; Caleb Pitkin, of Charlestown; Clement Vallandigham, of New Lisbon; James Rowland, of Mansfield; and Stephen I. Bradstreet, of Cleveland. My memory fondly lingers upon the names of these departed servants of God. "The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance." Ps. cxii. 6.

Very truly your fellow-laborer in the Lord,

S. C. Jennings.

P.S.—Before closing this communication, allow me to mention a little more fully another of the worthy elders of the early days, whose name is still affectionately cherished by the few surviving old students of Jefferson College. It was Prof. SAMUEL MILLER, who long held the Chair of Mathematics and Natural Sciences in that institution. As his name has been mentioned in Dr. Brownson's Educational History,* the only additional notice of him which I shall now give, is in reference to his peculiar religious experience, a subject of which he was ordinarily reticent; but he once favored the writer with an account of something like a vision of the Saviour, which he seemed to himself to have experienced on one occasion as he was walking the streets of Canonsburg at night, under deep anxiety and distress of mind. Whether it was a vision or a voice he could scarcely say; but it was such an impression of the Saviour's presence and suitableness to his necessities as led him at once, with joyful confidence, to commit his soul's everlasting interests into his hands, as one who was near him of a truth. He ever afterwards, during his long life, remained an humble and faithful disciple of Him who had thus given him light in his darkness. This experience was the more remarkable from the fact that Prof. Miller was characteristically a matter-of-fact man, and one of the last to be subject to any sort of hallucination.

The experience of Luther, on several occasions, was of a somewhat similar sort; and the peculiar influences which manifested themselves in the bodily exercises of the early part of this century, render such experiences as that of "Master" Miller less a matter of surprise than otherwise they might have been.

S. C. J.

* See p. 80.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION.

The Memorial Convention of ministers and elders from the four Synods of Pittsburgh, Erie, Cleveland, and Columbus, called for the purpose of commemorating the planting of Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania one hundred years ago, assembled in the First Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh, on Tuesday evening, December 7, 1875.

Rev. David McKinney, D.D., was called to the chair, and opened the Convention with prayer.

The following nomination of permanent officers was made by the chairman of the committee of arrangements, and approved by vote of the Convention:

President.—Rev. Charles C. Beatty, D.D., LL.D.

Vice-Presidents.—Rev. William D. Howard, D.D., Rev. George Hill, D.D., Rev. Alexander Donaldson, D.D., Rev. Loyal Young, D. D., and Rev. John Robinson, D.D.

(The two latter brethren were providentially hindered from being present.)

Secretaries.—Rev. Robert Carothers and Rev. John S. MacConnell.

REMARKS OF DR. BEATTY.

Dr. Beatty, on taking the chair, thanked the convention for their partiality, and stated that he was suffering from illness, in addition to his infirmity of sight, and was not able to preside. He took occasion to state that on the 24th of November, 1758, his venerable

grandfather, Chas. Beatty, came here with the army that took possession of the then lately evacuated Fort Duquesne, and the next day, or very soon after, preached a Thanksgiving sermon, in the presence of the whole army. This was the first Protestant sermon preached west of the Allegheny mountains. He returned to the east, but some eight years later was sent out by the Synods to visit the frontier settlements here, and some Indian settlements west of the Ohio. In his journal for the month of September, 1766, he records having preached at Fort Pitt to a small congregation—the village then numbering some thirty families. In company with Dr. Duffield, he went to points in Ohio, where he preached the first sermon delivered on the soil of that great State. This was previous to the coming of Dr. McMillan, and thirty years prior to the birth of the speaker, who now (he said) stood here as one of the oldest ordained ministers in the denomination. This was the reason why one so infirm and so incapable had been honored with the chairmanship of this convention. He thanked his friends for the honor they had shown him, and tendered them his grateful acknowledgments.

Dr. Howard then consented to take the chair.

On motion of Dr. Williams, the hours of meeting were fixed as follows: 9 A.M., 1:30 P.M., and 7:30 evening—the first half-hour of each session to be spent in devotional exercises.

Dr. Howard then introduced Rev. D. X. Junkin, D.D., of New Castle, who delivered a discourse upon "The Life and Labors of Rev. John McMillan: the Gospel he Preached, and its Influence upon the Civilization of Western Pennsylvania."

The Convention then adjourned until Wednesday morning.

The sessions of Wednesday and Thursday, besides devotional exercises and Christian conference, were occupied in hearing the several historical discourses, in whole or in part, which are contained in this volume.

The meetings were well attended, notwithstanding the unfavorable state of the weather.

On Wednesday evening, the large assembly which was present, after listening to the account of the Lord's wonderful doings in the great revivals of 1802–3, were ready to welcome the proposal of Dr. Junkin, that every one should spend a quarter of an hour before

retiring this evening, in special prayer for the blessing of God on this Convention, and the Churches it represents.

A portion of Thursday afternoon was spent in the transaction of business. Arrangements were made for the publication of the discourses delivered on this occasion, and a large number of pledges of $10 and $5 each were received towards meeting the expenses of publication. It was also agreed that any profits which may arise from the sale of the volume shall accrue to the "Elliott Lectureship" in the Western Theological Seminary.

The authors of the several discourses were appointed a committee to superintend the proposed publication.

The closing exercises of the convention were held on Thursday evening. The house was thronged, and after the singing of an appropriate anthem, informal addresses were delivered by the venerable President, Dr. Beatty, Prof. Saml. J. Wilson, D.D., LL.D., Rev. George W. Chamberlain, and Rev. Cyrus Dickson, D.D.

Dr. Beatty's address consisted chiefly in reminiscences of Rev. Elisha P. Swift, D.D., as the founder of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, and is reproduced in substance on page 174 of this volume.

Dr. Wilson's stirring and seasonable remarks have been given on page 411.

Mr. Chamberlain, missionary to Brazil, gave a most interesting account of the first attempt to introduce Protestantism into South America, more than three hundred years ago, by missionaries from Geneva.

The closing address by Dr. Dickson was a characteristically eloquent plea for a more vigorous prosecution of the work of evangelization in our own vast country—a work to be carried on in the spirit of those pious and heroic fathers and mothers in Israel whose deeds have been rehearsed on this occasion.

Hearty votes of thanks were then given to the citizens of Pittsburgh and Allegheny for their hospitalities; to the authorities of the First Presbyterian Church for the accommodations afforded; to the assembled choirs of the city churches for their excellent music; and to the conductors of the city press for their favorable notices of the Convention—especially to the *Evening Telegraph* for its full reports of the several discourses.

The Convention then adjourned *sine die*. It was a season long to be remembered.

NOTE.—It not being found practicable to secure a complete list of the members of the Convention, it is not thought best to give only a partial one.

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